TEXTS AND STUDIES

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TEXTS AND STUDIES

CONTRIBUTIONS TO
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

EDITED BY
J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON D.D.
HON. PH.D. GÖTTINGEN HON. D.D. HALLE
CANON OF WESTMINSTER

VOL. V.

APOCRYPHA ANECDOTA (II)
CLEMENT'S QUIS DIVES SALVETUR
THE HYMN OF THE SOUL
CODEX PURPUREUS PETROPOLITANUS (N)
CLEMENT'S BIBLICAL TEXT

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1899

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1967

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NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

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SECOND SERIES

EDITED BY

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES LITT.D.

DIRECTOR OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM
FELLOW AND DEAN OF KING'S COLLEGE

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PREFACE.

THIS second series of *Apocrypha Anecdota* is, like its predecessor, a very miscellaneous collection. Some of its contents are, I think, of real and obvious value: other items are merely curious. None however, I hope, are without some kind of interest.

Foremost in order, as in importance, comes the fragment of the Leucian Acts of John. I am not afraid that this will escape notice, and so I do not propose to say more about it here. It is discussed sufficiently for the present purpose in the introduction to it, and in the Essay at p. 144. Probably the next most interesting tract is the new Apocalypse of Baruch. I shall be particularly glad if my readers will help me with suggestions as to the date and nature of this curious—almost grotesque—book.

Not less welcome will be some criticism of the Testament of Job, to which I should like to draw special attention. It is a very puzzling document, and I do not feel at all sure that I have rightly appreciated its character. Only I am satisfied that it deserves more attention than has fallen to its lot, and that it is well worth reprinting.

One explanation I have to make. When the edition of the Slavonic Enoch by Mr Charles and Mr Morfill appeared, it struck Professor Robinson (and myself) that the text which Mr Charles styles B presented such remarkable features that it would be well worth while to print it separately. I wrote to Mr Charles, and he very kindly gave his sanction to my doing this, and sent me Mr Morfill's translation. The latter gentleman offered, most

generously, to revise his work, and did so. Shortly afterwards, however, Professor Bonwetsch contributed to the *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen* (*Phil.-Histor. Klasse, Neue Folge* I. 3) a translation of the Slavonic Enoch (*Das Slavische Henochbuch*) in which the A and B texts are printed separately. This publication took away to a great extent the *raison d'être* of my proposed addition: and so, with some reluctance, I gave up the idea of including it in this volume. None the less am I grateful to Mr Charles for his courtesy, and to Mr Morfill for the pains he spent on the revision of his translation.

Another point has to be noticed. Since I wrote my introduction to the Apocalypse of Baruch I have seen the German translation from the Slavonic version of that book which Professor Bonwetsch has recently published in the *Nachrichten d. königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen* (1896, Heft i. p. 91). A short introduction is prefixed to it, in which the main points of interest are very well given. The editor calls attention to the mention of the book by Origen, and to the coincidences with the (Greek) Apocalypse of Paul. Further, Mr Charles, in the introduction to his new edition of the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*, gives an account of the Baruch literature and includes the Greek Apocalypse, which I am glad to see that he places in the second century.

Special obligations are acknowledged in the introductions to the several books I have here given to the public: but I should like in this place to repeat my thanks to M. Bonnet for his help in the matter of the Acts of John: to Dom Butler for directing my attention to the Apocalypse of Baruch: and to Mr Morfill for translating that book from Slavonic.

M. R. J.

January 19, 1897.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 6, line 28 (note on), *for τίς ε read τίς εἶ.*

Page 8, line 19 (2nd note on), *for ἐλάμβανες read ἐλάμβανε.*

Page 10, line 4 (2nd note on), *for ἕνεκεν τῆς read ἕνεκεν, ἀδελφοί, τῆς.*

Page 10, line 7 (note on), *habet δυνάμενα et οὔτε, read δυνάμενα οὔτε λέγεσθαι οὔτε.*

Page 16, line 1, *for ἡμων read ἡμῶν.*

Page 24, line 1 (note on), *for ων read ὧν.*

A FRAGMENT OF THE ACTS OF JOHN.

THE fragment of the Acts of St John the Evangelist, which is now for the first time printed, is of very great importance for the light which it throws upon the Docetic view of our Lord's person.

The book from which it is excerpted—the Περίοδοι of St John—has long been known by certain fragments and quotations, and will shortly be much better known by M. Max Bonnet's edition of the whole of the extant remains. M. Bonnet has discovered a very large proportion of the narrative setting of the work, and when his volume appears we shall have a good idea of the contents of the Acts as a whole. The romance was current under the name of one Leucius, or Leucius Charinus. The personality of this man is exceedingly obscure. We do not know whether he figured in the Acts themselves as a disciple of St John and as the narrator of the Apostle's life (this is Zahn's view, set forth with great ability in his *Acta Joannis*), or whether his name was from the first attached to a whole group of romances dealing with the lives of Apostles. We do know that from the 4th century onwards a group of spurious romances was circulated under his name. We find him mentioned in connexion with Acts of John, of Peter, of Andrew, of Thomas, with narratives of the Infancy of our Lord, and of the Assumption of the Virgin, and with the second part of the *Acta Pilati*. Lipsius holds that the original Leucian collection of Acts comprised those of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul. But Zahn seems to have satisfactorily proved that the Acts of Paul were not of Gnostic but of orthodox origin. The Acts of Thomas, again, must be subtracted from the collection. Though they are Gnostic and though they emanate from the same work-

shop as the Johannine Acts, they are not by the same hand. Leucius has a style of his own, and it is not the style of the *Acta Thomae.*

There remain then the Acts of Peter, John, and Andrew. Of the last-named novel we know at present too little to warrant us in pronouncing upon its authorship. M. Bonnet's promised edition will tell us whether the question is capable of being decided or not. But of the Acts of Peter and John it may be said with the utmost confidence that they are the work of one and the same hand. The tables of parallels which I have collected will amply demonstrate this point.

Lipsius[1] has collected and discussed at length all the passages which bear on the writings and date of Leucius. It seems clear that the latest date which can be assigned to him is the second half of the second century. For we have a distinct reference to the Acts of John—and indeed to a passage which forms part of the fragment now before us—in the *Adumbrationes* of Clement of Alexandria upon the Catholic Epistles[2].

Zahn would push the date of Leucius back far earlier. He thinks that he may perhaps be the person, or one of the persons, indicated by Papias, under the name of *οἱ τὰ πολλὰ λέγοντες*. This cannot be regarded, I think, as more than a very scant possibility. But in another conjecture Zahn seems to be on rather firmer ground. He thinks that the account of the composition of St John's Gospel, which is found in the Muratorian Fragment, is taken from the Leucian Acts of John. This cannot be proved to demonstration: yet it does seem to me that it acquires probability from another passage in the same fragment. In the obscure and difficult passage which deals with the Acts of the Apostles, these words occur: "sicuti et semote passionem Petri euidenter declarat, sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis." Now the undoubtedly Leucian *Actus Petri cum Simone* (called, from the unique MS which contains them, the *Actus Petri Vercellenses*) begin, in the form in which we have them, with the *profectio Pauli ab urbe in Spaniam* and end with the *passio Petri.*

[1] *Apokr. Apostelgesch*, I. 83—117.

[2] It is generally agreed that these *Adumbrationes* are to be regarded as excerpts from the *Hypotyposes.*

It seems as if the writer of the Muratorian Fragment must have had the Acts of Peter in his mind. How then does he apparently come to attribute to St Luke a narrative which Luke did not write[1]? Can it be that there was in his mind a confusion between Lucas and Leucius? Or is it possible that the person whom we know as Leucius intended his readers to understand that Lucas was the writer of the romances to which the name Leucius is attached? It is at least interesting to note that (so far at least as we can tell) he has throughout copied the anonymity of Luke. The first person is frequently employed in the narrative: but it is extremely difficult to hit upon the identity of the narrator. Here is a point of resemblance to the Lucan Acts: and it will be allowed that the choice of the name Leucius by a writer of Acts of the Apostles, is exceedingly likely to be an intentional sugges-

[1] I am here supposing that the text of the Fragment and particularly the word "semote" does not require to be altered. The passage in Zahn's transcription reads thus:

acta autem omnium apostolorum
sub uno libro scribta sunt lucas obtime theofile conprindit quia sub praesentia eius singula gerebantur sicuti et semote passionem petri euidenter declarat sed et profectionem pauli ab urbe ad spaniam proficiscentis.

Zahn in his History of the Canon (ii. 139, 141) reads "semota passione... profectione" and retranslates "παραλιπὼν τὸ μαρτύριον...τὴν πορείαν." The effect of this change is, of course, to make the writer say that Luke does *not* mention the martyrdom of Peter and journey of Paul. Yet even the adoption of this reading by no means invalidates—in fact, does not affect—the likelihood that the Leucian Acts of Peter are here referred to. If we retain the text of the MS we shall translate thus: "The Acts of all the Apostles are contained in one book. Luke drew them up for the most excellent Theophilus (reading 'optimo') [*and shows*] that the various events took place in his own presence: just as also separately he plainly sets forth the passion of Peter, and, besides, the departure of Paul when he set out from the City for Spain." That is to say, that just as in the Canonical Acts Luke shows by his use of the first person that he was an eye-witness of certain events, so in a separate volume he similarly narrates the martyrdom of Peter and departure of Paul, and shows by a like use of the first person that these events also took place under his eye.

I do not press this interpretation: but it deserves to be mentioned as a curious coincidence at the least that we possess

(*a*) Acts of Apostles by Lucas, in which the first person is used.

(*b*) Acts of Peter by Leucius, in which the first person is also used, and in which an account of the passion of Peter and departure of Paul is found.

tion of the name Lucas, which belonged to the author of Acts already accepted.

I have digressed. The point which was to have been made was this. If the author of the Muratorian Fragment really knew the Leucian Acts of Peter (as I think he did), the probability that he also knew the Acts of John is enormously increased.

Two fragments of the episode now printed were known before. They had been quoted in the Acts of the Second Nicene Council, held in 787 against the Iconoclasts. They are the passages found on pp. 8—12 and 16—18 of this edition. The first of them is cited in two portions in the Acts of the Council, but, as we now see, forms one connected passage. The second does not, as Lipsius thought, follow immediately upon the first, but is separated from it by a large portion of the Hymn sung by our Lord at the Last Supper.

The history of the quotations is briefly this. At the Iconoclastic Council, held at Constantinople in 754, the story of St John and Lycomedes had been adduced as an instance of the condemnation of pictures by an Apostle. At the later Council of 787 the source of this testimony was discussed, and not only was the story of Lycomedes read, but also the two other passages in question; and these amply served to show the heretical character of the book whence they were taken. Besides this, the Fathers in council had before them the tract of St Amphilochius of Iconium *On Heretical Apocrypha*, in which the Leucian Acts were severely censured; and, in consequence, they declared that the Acts were thoroughly untrustworthy and pernicious, and deserved to be burnt.

We have several MSS of the Acts of this Council; and among the many kind offices which M. Bonnet has rendered me in connexion with the present publication, not the least is this, that he has allowed me to make use of the variants which he had himself collected from five previously uncollated MSS of the Acts of the Council, four at Rome, one at Turin.

Besides the Greek Acts of this Council we have two Latin versions: one made by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in the tenth century; the other, representing a different text, by Gybertus Longolius at Cologne in or before 1540.

The Manuscript.

The fragment appears to exist in but one manuscript. This is at Vienna (*Cod. Gr. Historicus ap. Nessel, Pt.* III, no. lxiii). Nessel gives the full title and opening words of it, and I seem to have noted it for future inspection as long ago as 1886. An opportunity of having it examined occurred in 1894, when Professor Robinson was at Vienna. I asked him to look at it, and he at once recognised its value and transcribed it. I then sent a copy of the text to Professor Max Bonnet, whom I knew to be engaged in editing the Apocryphal Acts. He most kindly lent me the fragments of the Leucian Acts which he already possessed to read, and has since then himself studied the Vienna MS and has been most generous and patient in communicating to me his own transcripts, collations and conjectures. It is a real pleasure to put on record instances of kindness like this. It would have been perhaps better to refrain from publishing this fragment separately, and to wait till it could stand with its context in M. Bonnet's complete edition. We had at first contemplated this course: and had the episode consisted of narrative only, there is little doubt that we should have adopted it. But the opportunity of making up another volume of Apocryphal texts came sooner than I had expected: M. Bonnet's edition had still to pass through several stages of revision, and the document had so much intrinsic value, that we decided not to withhold it any longer from students. M. Bonnet himself had from the first urged us to print it.

To return to the MS. Its contents are as follows:

1. Vita S. Onuphrii a Paphnutio. f. 1.
2. Vita S. Basilii Junioris a Gregorio. 12 *b*.
3. Ephraem de Paenitentia. 38 *b*.
4. Eusebii Alex. Encomium diei Dominicae. 39 *b*.
5. Johannis Chrysost. Orat. de Eleëmosyna. 42 *b*.
6. Anon. de qualitatibus Sacerdotis. 45.
7. Narratio de Exaltatione S. Crucis. 50 *b*.
8. *Our fragment.* 51 *b*.
9. Miraculum S. Georgii. 56.

10. Narratio de Theodosio. 65 *b*.
(cf. Suidas s.v. Ἰησοῦς.)
11. Narratio de Melchisedecho et Loto. 68 *b*.
12. Martyrium S. Parasceues. 73.
13. Vita S. Eustathii. 79.
14. Jo. Chrysost. de Pseudo-prophetis. 92.
15. „ in Secundum Adventum. 109 *b*.
16. „ de Paenitentia. 112.
17. „ de Vanitate Mundi. 117 *b*.
18. Christophori Alex. Paraenesis. 121.
19. Vita S. Euphrosynae. 126.
20. Jo. Chrysost. in Sanctum Pascha. 133 *b*—134.

The date of the volume is given, though, as it seems, corruptly, in the Colophon. Of this M. Bonnet has given me a tracing, and accompanied it with a most valuable explanation, partly his own, and partly furnished by Professor Usener. The text runs thus:

ἐτελειώθη δὲ αὕτη ἡ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ βίβλος μηνὶ αὐγούστω ἡμέρα παρασκευῆς, ὥρα ζ̄, ἤγουν δέκα τοῦ αὐτοῦ: τοῦ ἔτους τρέχωντος ἐξάκισχιλιάδος σὺν τοῖς ἑκατὸν ὀκτάκις ποσουμένοις· ἰκοστοῦ εὐδόμης τε ἰνδίκτου.

ἀρχιεραρχοῦντος δὲ ἡμῶν τοῦ πάνυ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολιτοῦ Σωφρονίου· ἤγουν δὲ τῆς πάσης Γοτθίας.

Rubr. ἡ χεὶρ μὲν ἡ γράψασα τὴν δέλτον ταύτην σιπυ...(l. σήπεται τάφῳ uel simile quid)...ἐπικαλύπτει ταύτην λίθος· γραφὴ δὲ μένει εἰς χρόνους πληρεστάτους.

We must, according to Prof. Usener, read in *l.* 2 *δεκάδι* for *δέκα* and in *l.* 4 *ἰκοστοῦ* δ̄ for *ἰκοστοῦ*. We then have:

"This divine and holy book was completed in the month of August, on Friday, at the seventh hour, that is, on the 10th of the month. The year current being six thousand with a hundred eight times reckoned, and the twenty-fourth; and the Indiction being the seventh."

"The era adopted," I quote M. Bonnet's words, "is that of Anianus, Syncellus, and Theophanes, according to which the Birth of our Lord falls in 5501. 6824—5500 = 1324; the year 5501 begins on Sept. 1 of the year 1 B.C. Thus the year 6824 runs

from 1 Sept., 1323, to 31 Aug., 1324. The seventh Indiction begins 1 Sept., 1323, and Aug. 10, 1324, is a Friday. All the dates, therefore, agree."

The phenomenon of the preservation of the most heretical portion of a heretical and condemned book in a fourteenth century MS is a very noteworthy and encouraging one, as well as one which is difficult to explain.

It will be seen from a glance at the *apparatus criticus*, as well as at the text, that there are a large number of corrupt and difficult passages: some of these M. Bonnet and ourselves have emended, I think with success: but others have baffled us. Nevertheless, there can be but one opinion as to the interest of the fragment. It is as important a document for the knowledge of Docetism as can be found, and will undoubtedly take its place as one of the primary sources for future historians of Christian thought—primary, because it is a statement of doctrine by a member of the Docetic sect, and not the representation of a hostile critic. From such a point of view it really deserves to be placed upon a level with the famous Gospel of Peter, from which, according to my notion, it cannot be at all widely separated in date.

The Fragment.

It will not be necessary or advisable to make in this place any general collection of the evidence concerning the book of the Acts of John as a whole. That we shall expect from M. Bonnet. At present I shall only adduce such passages as throw immediate light upon the fragment before us.

As to its place in the complete book a word only need be said. It follows immediately upon the long episode of the raising of Drusiana, of which Zahn gives us the greater part in Greek, while M. Bonnet has the whole text. The moment at which we may place it is easily seen in the Latin Life of St John which appears as Book V. of the so-called *Historia Apostolica* of Abdias.

At the end of c. xiii., after the death of the wicked Fortunatus, we read "Et illam diem cum fratribus laetam exegit." This is the point at which our fragment comes in.

We may now turn to some passages which are more immediately concerned with our fragment. The earliest in date is that from the *Adumbrationes* of Clement of Alexandria, which has been already mentioned.

It runs thus (ad i Joh. i.: ed. Potter p. 1009, ed. Zahn *Forschungen* III. 87): "Fertur ergo in traditionibus quoniam Ioannes, ipsum corpus quod erat extrinsecus tangens, manum suam in profunda misisse et ei duritiam carnis nullo modo reluctatam esse sed locum manui tribuisse discipuli."

This has been recognised by Zahn, and allowed by Lipsius and other critics as an allusion to one of the passages quoted at the Second Nicene Council. It occurs in our fragment (p. 9, c. vii.).

The other *locus classicus* which concerns us here is a letter of St Augustine to Ceretius (Ep. 237 (253)), who had sent him some Priscillianist books of which he (Ceretius) was inclined to approve. Augustine answers him, and, in doing so, takes occasion to criticise in detail one special writing, in these terms: § 2. Hymnus sane, quem dicunt esse domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui maxime permouit uenerationem tuam, in scripturis solet apocryphis inueniri. Quae non proprie Priscillianistarum sunt, sed alii quoque haeretici eis...utuntur.

§ 4. Habes uerba eorum in illo codice ita posita: *Hymnus domini, quem dixit secrete sanctis apostolis discipulis suis, quia scriptum est in euangelio* Hymno dicto adscendit in montem; *et qui in canone non est positus, propter eos qui secundum se sentiunt, et non secundum spiritum et ueritatem dei, eo quod scriptum est* Sacramentum regis bonum est abscondere, opera autem dei reuelare honorificum est.

This title is conceived very much in the style of Priscillian himself. Augustine proceeds to show that there is nothing in the Hymn which is not either superfluous or heretical. He quotes the following clauses, and in most cases gives parallels from canonical writings:

§§ 5, 6. *Soluere uolo et solui uolo* (*p.* 12, *note*).

§ 7. (Hoc de superioribus hymni uerbis dici potest, ubi ait.) *Saluare uolo et saluari volo* (*p.* 12, *l.* 2).

[Hence we see that this clause preceded *Soluere, etc.*]

§ 8. *Generari uolo* (*p.* 12, *note*).
Cantare uolo, saltate cuncti (*p.* 12, *l.* 5).
Plangere uolo, tundite uos omnes (*p.* 12, *l.* 7).
Ornare uolo et ornari uolo (*p.* 12, *l.* 3).
Lucerna sum tibi, ille qui me uides (*p.* 12, *l.* 18).
Ianua sum tibi, qui cumque me pulsas (*p.* 12, *l.* 20).
Qui uides quod ago, tace opera mea (*p.* 14, *ll.* 1, 2).

§ 9. *Verbo illusi cuncta, et non sum illusus in totum* (*p.* 12, *ll.* 21, 22).

The differences of text between the Latin and the Greek are not important: the most interesting is perhaps that in the last line, which Augustine quotes; but even this is sufficiently dealt with in the *apparatus criticus*.

The one point which it seems necessary to bring out is this, that Ceretius found the hymn not in its context in the Acts, but extracted therefrom for separate, perhaps for liturgical use, by the Priscillianists. An usage parallel to this is met with in various prayer-books of English origin and early date, where the prayer of St John before he drank the poison cup is transcribed for use as a general prayer against poisons[1]. Augustine is clearly aware of the state of things, for he says that this hymn "was found in apocryphal writings which were not peculiar to the Priscillianists, but were used by other heretics."

The two authorities above quoted bear directly on the text of our fragment. The next in order gives us help of a more general kind. It is the passage from the *Bibliotheca* of Photius (Cod. cxiv) which must be familiar to all students of apocryphal literature: *Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον αἱ λεγόμεναι τῶν Ἀποστόλων περίοδοι, ἐν αἷς περιείχοντο* Πράξεις Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀνδρέου, Θωμᾶ, Παύλου· *γράφει δὲ αὐτάς, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ αὐτὸ βιβλίον,* Λεύκιος Χαρῖνος. [After some strictures on the style, Photius proceeds.] *γέμει δὴ καὶ μωρίας πολλῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς εαὐτὴν μάχης καὶ ἐναντιώσεως· φησὶ γὰρ ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεὸν καὶ κακόν, οὗ καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Μάγον ὑπηρέτην καθεστάναι, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν Χριστόν, ὃν φησιν ἀγαθόν· καὶ φύρων ἅπαντα καὶ συγχέων*

[1] MSS Harl. 2965, 7653: Book of Cerne, Camb. Univ. Libr. Ll. i. 10. In this latter MS the prayer of St John is followed by one of St Peter.

καλεῖ αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱόν. λέγει δὲ μηδ' ἐνανθρωπῆσαι ἀληθῶς, ἀλλὰ δόξαι, καὶ πολλὰ πολλάκις φανῆναι τοῖς μαθηταῖς, νέον καὶ πρεσβύτην καὶ παῖδα, καὶ μείζονα καὶ ἐλάττονα καὶ μέγιστον, ὥστε τὴν κεφαλὴν διήκειν ἔσθ' ὅτε μέχρις οὐρανῶν· πολλὰς δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ κενολογίας καὶ ἀτοπίας ἀναπλάττει, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ σταυρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταγελᾶν διὰ τοῦτο τῶν σταυρούντων· γάμους δὲ νομίμους ἀθετεῖ καὶ πᾶσαν γένεσιν πονηράν τε καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ λέγει, καὶ πλάστην τῶν δαιμόνων ἄλλον ἐκκληροῖ (Fabr. εἶναι ληρεῖ), νεκρῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ βοῶν καὶ κτηνῶν παραλογωτάτας καὶ μειρακιώδεις τερατεύεται ἀναστάσεις· δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνων τοῖς εἰκονομάχοις ἐν ταῖς Ἰωάννου πράξεσι δογματίζειν. The rest is abuse.

If we examine the assertions of Photius in detail, we shall see that almost all of them can be substantiated from our fragment. The diversity of the God of the Jews from the true God seems to appear, not in the Vienna MS, but in the text of the Acts of the Councils (see p. 10, note). In the following passage πρινὴ δὲ συλληφθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων <καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνόμου ὄφεως νομοθετουμένων> Ἰουδαίων, the words in brackets may have been omitted purposely from the Vienna text as too obviously heretical, or they may have dropped out by accident. I do not think we need doubt that they are original, or that it is to such words that Photius refers. But it is not by any means clear that they imply that the author of the Jewish law was an evil God. The force of the present participle νομοθετουμένων points in another direction. It is the *lawless* serpent who instigates the *lawless* Jews (a very strong expression, ἄνομος being usually applied to heathens) to the particular act of the crucifying of Christ: but it does not follow that the serpent was the author of the Law of Moses. When we turn to the Leucian Acts of Peter, we find, as we should expect from Photius' words, that Simon Magus is represented as a Jew (p. 51, l. 27), and a son of the devil (e.g. pp. 62, 77), and that Simon contrasts his own God with Peter's (p. 82): but, on the other hand, Peter in rebuking Satan says (p. 56): "Thou didst harden the heart of Pharaoh and inflame him, and compel him to fight against *Moses, the holy servant of God:* thou didst give unto Caiaphas boldness (and to) the wicked (*inique,* perh. = ἀνόμῳ) multitude that they might

deliver up our Lord Jesus Christ." This is really a parallel in sense to the passage in our fragment. Photius had every temptation to exaggerate the wickedness of the Leucian teaching: and it seems to me that he has done so in the present instance.

Another passage which gives some apparent ground for the assertion of Photius is on p. 14, l. 16 of our fragment, *θεός εἰμί σου, οὐ τοῦ προδότου*. But this again can be closely paralleled from the speech of Peter which I have just quoted (*Acta* p. 55): "Thou didst compel Judas my fellow disciple and fellow apostle to do wickedly, and deliver up our Lord Jesus Christ." Again, on p. 18 of the fragment is a clearly dualistic piece of teaching, but yet no indication that I can discover that Leucius taught that the Jewish Law was an inspiration of the Devil.

The confusion between the Father and the Son is probably a deduction from such passages as p. 18, l. 8 *ποτὲ υἱός, ποτὲ πατήρ*. On the other hand, Photius might have recollected that Leucius apparently distinguishes between the Persons, as in the beginning of the Hymn on p. 10. In his account of the Docetic teaching as to the Incarnation, and of the various appearances of Christ, Photius might have been simply summarising the first four pages of the fragment, so many are the points of resemblance. The parallel account in the Acts of Peter (p. 67 ed. Lipsius) is far less detailed.

The allusion to the Cross and to the phantom Crucifixion are also in all probability based upon pp. 16—22 of the Vienna text. Only Photius seems to be inaccurate in saying that *Christ* derided his crucifiers. His word *καταγελᾶν* is used to describe what St John did after the vision on the Mount of Olives (p. 22, l. 13).

The Encratite views of marriage are strongly apparent in the story of Drusiana which precedes our fragment: and the doctrine of another Creator of the demons is found implied in the fragment itself (p. 18). Parallels to the miracles done on men and beasts, lastly, must be sought (and will be found) in the Acts of Peter, John and Thomas, but not in our episode.

Thus much for the evidence of Photius, which, if inaccurate in some not unimportant points, serves to give a very fair idea of the Leucian Acts as a whole. What more I have to say upon the fragment will deal with the doctrinal position of the writer;

and the consideration of a series of difficulties in the text will follow.

I feel considerable diffidence in approaching the first question. The intricacies of the so-called Gnostic systems are by no means so familiar to me as they should be: and unless one is spontaneously attracted to the study of them by interest and curiosity, they are matters hard to acquire and to retain. Fortunately, there are only a few points in the system of Leucius which will come into question; and if we can once assign him a definite place among the sects, that system as a whole may be left to look after itself.

One of the most instructive passages ought to be that in the Hymn which says:

ὀγδοὰς μία ἡμῖν συνψάλλει.
ὁ δωδέκατος ἀριθμὸς ἄνω χορεύει.

This translates us at once into the region of "Gnostic" terminology. Leucius believes in an Ogdoad and a Dodecad. These names we can parallel without difficulty, from the Valentinian system. But it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the system here indicated from these meagre data. No sect or teacher, so far as I know, was satisfied with an Ogdoad and Dodecad alone. The sum of these numbers is twenty: and thirty was the number most generally affected in the system of second-century Gnostics. I suspect very strongly that a line has fallen out of our text here, and that that line contained mention of a Decad. The great and popular Valentinian system set forth a primary Ogdoad, an intermediate Decad, and a final Dodecad, making up the number to Thirty. The same division, side by side with a division into threes, is also found, be it noted, in the system of the *Docetae* described by Hippolytus (viii. 10, p. 268), where the Dodecad is not mentioned, but is implied by the mention of the Ogdoad and Decad and of the total number of thirty Aeons. These *Docetae* of Hippolytus have several other points of connexion with Leucius. They allow the truth of the Gospel history as a whole: Leucius is constantly quoting the Gospels. They do not allow the reality of the Crucifixion any more than he does: and they say that Jesus appears in ever-varying forms to every individual soul. Moreover they have a

curious use of the word *βάτος*, of which more must be said in its place.

At present we have not done more than point to a probable *lacuna* in the text, the filling up of which would range Leucius along with the great Gnostic systems of his day.

Another prominent feature of the teaching of Leucius is that about the Cross. I will at once quote from Irenaeus (I. 3. 5) a passage which represents shortly the main features of the teaching of Leucius:

Ἔπειτα περὶ τοῦ Ὅρου αὐτῶν, ὃν δὴ καὶ πλείοσιν ὀνόμασι καλοῦσι, δύο ἐνεργείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀποφαινόμενοι, τὴν ἑδραστικὴν καὶ τὴν μερικήν· καὶ καθὸ μὲν ἑδράζει καὶ στηρίζει Σταυρὸν εἶναι, καθὸ δὲ μερίζει καὶ διορίζει, Ὅρον.

Compare with this the teaching on p. 18 of our fragment. There the Cross is called by many names: and is repeatedly described as the marking off (*διορισμὸς*), and settling and foundation, of all things.

In the words which I quoted, Irenaeus is describing the Valentinian system. I do not in the least wish to convey the impression that I believe Leucius to have been a Valentinian: but it is clear, I think, that like many others he borrowed important and even essential tenets from the great Gnostic.

I dare not, with my very limited knowledge of the subject, venture further to define the position of Leucius or to sketch his complete system from his extant writings. It is clear enough that he was essentially a dualist (p. 18, l. 16), a Docete, a thinker deeply influenced by Valentinus; and it is also probable that he was an extremely devout and at the same time puzzle-headed and imaginative man.

I add a few notes on textual and other points:

§ 1 (p. 2, l. 7). The explanation of Drusiana's words is to be sought, of course, in the preceding story of her resuscitation, which we have in Zahn *Act. Jo.* pp. 225—234.

l. 10. *βεβαίως φέρειν*. The MS has *βεβ. φέρων*. I take the words to mean that the brethren were too young in the faith to bear the perplexity of the double appearance of Christ without

bewilderment: cf. *subportare*, *Acta Petri*, p. 69, and other passages cited later. M. Bonnet's suggestion *βαρέως* (βαραιως) *φέρων* (*sc.* *Ἰωάννης*) is noteworthy, but not quite in keeping with John's words, who says that the Apostles themselves had been tempted in just the same way. This seems to exclude the possibility that he resented the bewilderment of the converts.

In §§ 3, 4 (p. 6) are some possible parallels to the Apocalypse of Peter. The first, on which not much stress could be laid if it stood alone, is *παραλαμβάνει με...εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὅπου ἦν αὐτῷ ἔθος εὔχεσθαι*. Cf. *Apoc. Petri* § 2 *ὁ Κύριος ἔφη Ἄγωμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος <καὶ> εὐξώμεθα*.

Next we have, *φῶς τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἐστὶν δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρώμενον λόγῳ φθαρτῷ ἐκφέρειν οἷον ἦν*. Cf. *Apoc. Petri* 3 *φωτεινὸν ἦν αὐτῶν ὅλον τὸ ἔνδυμα ὁποῖον οὐδέποτε ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνθρώπ<ου εἶδεν· οὐ γὰ>ρ στόμα δύναται ἐξηγήσασθαι ἢ καρ<δία ἐκφράσα>ι τὴν δόξαν ἣν ἐνεδέδυντο*. Again (§ 4), *τοὺς μὲν πόδας πάσης χιόνος λευκοτέρους*: *Apoc. Petri* 3 *τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν ἦν λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος*.

The MS of the Acts reads *ποίας* for *πάσης*: but the correction to *πάσης*, plausible in itself, is rather confirmed, I think, by the neighbourhood of other reminiscences of the Apocalypse.

Lastly, *ὡς καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην καταλάμπεσθαι*: *Apoc. Petri* 5 *τὸν ἀέρα...ἀκτῖσιν ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενον καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀνθοῦσαν κ.τ.λ.*

All this points to the fact that the writers of the two books are moving in one and the same cycle of ideas.

In the latter part of § 4 the propensity of Leucius to indulge in humorous stories is seen. It is perhaps most prominent in the well-known stories of St John and the bugs, and of St John and Lycomedes.

In § 6 (p. 8, l. 9) I have altered *καθεύδοντα* to *κατελθόντα*, because the point of the story is that, whoever else was *καθεύδων*, Christ was not.

I am not in the least competent to expound the Hymn of Christ. On one passage, however (p. 14, ll. 21, 22), some words of Professor Zahn, in a letter to me, may be quoted. "Ist *ἠθελησάμην κ.τ.λ.* = *εἰ θέλεις γνώμην* (*γνῶναι*)? Gewiss sehen wir, wie sie schon bemerkt haben, dass die Priscillianisten nach Augustin

λόγῳ gelesen und dies zum Folgenden gezogen. Ob sie aber ἅπαξ *nicht* gelesen oder nicht *hier* gelesen haben? Es würde trefflich in l. 21 passen: 'Wenn du *mit einemmal, in einem kurzen Wort,* meine Meinung erfahren willst.' Man könnte dagegen sagen

'Vérbo illusi cuncta et nón sum illúsus in tótum'

sei ein mittelmässiger Hexameter, und der zwang des Metrums habe den Übersetzer veranlasst, ἅπαξ wegzulassen. Ich bedauere nichts besseres zu wissen, als etwa dies:

τὴν δὲ ἐμοῦ εἰ θέλεις <γν>ώμην γνῶναι·
λόγῳ ἅπαξ ἔπαιξα πάντα καὶ οὐκ ἐπῃσχύνθην ὅλως.

Ich weiss wohl, dass τὴν ἐμοῦ γνώμην statt τὴν γνώμην μου oder μου τὴν γν. oder τὴν ἐμὴν γν. ungewöhnlich ist. Aber (1) die Sprache ist poetisch, und bei den bestern Dichtern findet Man solches (Kühner *Griech. Gramm.* II. 535, *Anm.* 32); und (2) bleibe ich so der Überlieferung des Textes nahe genug. Wenn nicht -ωμην überliefert wäre, d.h. wenn Man das streichen dürfte, wäre freilich noch einfacher: τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν (cf. pp. 20, 21) εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι· λόγῳ κ.τ.λ."

It must be understood that these lines represent Professor Zahn's views after a first reading of the fragment only; but they are so interesting that I do not like to omit them.

p. 16, l. 6 τῇ σταυροῦ βάτῳ. This is an extremely puzzling expression, and I am not sure that we have the right text in βάτῳ, although as to σταυροῦ I feel fairly confident. But the word βάτῳ presents a curious coincidence with the Docetic system as described by Hippolytus in a passage already used. There (viii. 9, p. 265) we read τοῦτον λέγει Μωϋσῆς πύρινον θεὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βάτου λαλήσαντα, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ ἀέρος· (βάτος γάρ ἐστι πᾶς ὁ σκότει ὑποκείμενος ἀήρ) βάτον δέ, φησιν, εἴρηκε Μωϋσῆς, ὅτι ἄνωθεν κάτω πᾶσαι διέβησαν τοῦ φωτὸς αἱ ἰδέαι βατὸν ἔχουσαι τὸν ἀέρα· οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ βάτου γνωρίζεται, φωνὴ γάρ ἐστι σημαντικὴ τοῦ λόγου πλησσόμενος ἀήρ, οὗ δίχα λόγος ἀνθρώπινος οὐ γνωρίζεται· οὐ μόνον δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βάτου, τουτέστιν ἀέρος, νομοθετεῖ καὶ συμπολιτεύεται, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὀσμαὶ καὶ χρώματα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἡμῖν τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐμφανίζουσιν.

This passage shows that the word *βάτος* had a special use and currency among certain sects. It does not show that it was an equivalent or symbol for *σταυρός*. Still it is undeniable that such a phrase or idea as *ὁ λόγος νομοθετεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ βάτου* runs very parallel with the well-known quotation *ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου* (Ps. xcv. 10 ap. Justin. etc.). The equation *βάτος = ξύλον = σταυρός* is probably traceable in some early writer, though I have not found it myself. I cannot do more than suggest that *βάτος* is a justifiable reading.

On p. 18, ll. 12, 13, for the corrupt *ἀνάγγη βιάβα* of the MS, Professor Zahn suggests *ἀνάγκη βεβαία*. It is plain that the idea of *βέβαιος, βάσις, βαθμός* or the like is required: an allusion, in other words, to that function of the Cross which Irenaeus describes as *ἑδραστική*.

l. 19 *πηγάσας* is the reading of the MS, which I had at first retained under the impression that *πηγάζω* might be taken as a collateral formation from *πήγνυμι*, instead of being formed from *πηγή*. I do not know that this is absolutely impossible. The root-idea which is required is that of fixing. *πηγάσας* in the sense of "welling up" gives no consistent meaning.

p. 18, l. 23—p. 20, l. 1. *ἄλλο τί με ἐροῦσιν, ταπεινὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἄξιον*. This must be a direct blow at the orthodox party, who asserted the reality of the Passion.

The Acts of John and the Acts of Peter.

The last item in these introductory remarks must be one of the most important. It consists of a number of parallels to our fragment collected from the other fragments of these Acts, and from the Acts of Peter. I need not accompany them with any comment. I think they show as clearly as any evidence of this kind could, that whoever wrote the Acts of John wrote the Acts of Peter.

I. From the Acts of John.

Zahn, p. 225. *τὸν θεὸν...τὸν μὴ ἀπολιμπανόμενον ἡμῶν.* Cf. § xvii.
ὁ Χριστὸς σὺν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀεί. Cf. § xvii.
ἀπορούντων (*ἠπορημένος* p. 232) §§ i, ii.

p. 226. The situation of the disciples sleeping and John remaining awake. Cf. § vi.
ἠρέμα...ἠρεμῆσαν. (Cf. p. 6, l. 8.)
228. *μηδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγνωκότος* (p. 22, l. 12).
μάλιστα τοῦτο αὐτὸ κρατύνω (p. 22, l. 15).
230. *τὸν ὄφιν* (p. 10, note).
ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ πολυμόρφου Σατανᾶ (p. 18, ll. 14 ff.).
τί βούλεται τὸ τοιοῦτον θέαμα (p. 4, l. 8).
ἀμελήσας (234) (p. 20, l. 14).
232. *πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν κακωτικὴν* (? *κατωτικὴν*: p. 18, ll. 14 ff.).
ὑπακούων ἡμῶν πάντοτε, καὶ νῦν κ.τ.λ. (§ xvii).
240. [*μηδὲ ταύταις ἀκουόμενα ταῖς ἀκοαῖς* Syr. Arm.] (§ xvii. p. 2, l. 15).
πεπραγμάτευται (p. 22, l. 16).
241. *ὁ πάσης ἡμῖν λεγομένης ἢ νοουμένης προσηγορίας ἀνώτερος* (p. 24, ll. 8—10).
ταῦτα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὁμιλῶ (p. 10, ll. 4, 5).
τὸ προκείμενόν μοι ἔργον (p. 10, ll. 11, 12).
242. *ὁ...ἐν πᾶσιν ὢν καὶ πανταχοῦ παρών* (p. 24, l. 1).
243. *δοξάζομέν σου τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς λεχθὲν ὄνομα.*
δοξάζομέν σου τὸ λεχθὲν διὰ υἱοῦ ὄνομα.
[*δοξάζομέν σου τὴν διὰ τῆς θύρας εἴσοδον* Syr. Arm.]
δοξάζομεν τὴν δειχθεῖσαν διὰ σοῦ ἡμῖν ἀνάστασιν.
δοξάζομέν σου τὸν σπόρον, τὸν λόγον, τὴν χάριν,...
...τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς λεχθέντα υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
(§§ xi, xiii, p. 18, ll. 5—9).
...λεχθεὶς ταῦτα πάντα δι' ἡμᾶς νῦν (p. 18, ll. 5, 6).
244. *...ἐν τῷ μόνῳ σου ἀνθρώπῳ θεωρούμενον* (p. 14, ll. 3, 4 : 22, 9, 10).
246. *στρωμνὴν* (p. 14, l. 9).
247. *χρῄζω σου, Ἰωάννη* (p. 2, l. 21).
248. *εἰ μὴ ἦς ἐμός, εἴασα ἄν σε γῆμαι* (p. 20, ll. 10, 11).
249. *ἄρρητος* (p. 10, l. 6).
δαίμονες, ...ἄρχοντες, ...δυνάμεις, ...δεξιοὶ τόποι, ἀριστεροὶ...
ὁ διάβολος, ...ὁ Σατανᾶς...ὅλη αὐτοῦ ἡ ῥίζα (p. 18, ll. 13—16).

II. From the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, ed. Lipsius, 1891.

p. 48. perstabiliti per fidem. i. *ἐστηριγμένων τῇ πίστει.*
49. constabilitae in fide.
57. neque constabilitus eram in fide dei.
78. *στηριζομένων τῇ πίστει.*

49. dissoluit...inergia sua satanas.	xiii. *δυνάμεις,...ἀρχαί,...ἐνέργειαι... διάβολοι, Σατανᾶς.*
52. energia satanae.	
53. inergaemam diaboli, initia et uires.	
52. magnalia et mirabilia sua.	x. *τὰ γὰρ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμάσια.*
63. uidebis magnalia dei.	
56. in te conuertantur...mine tuae.	xiii. *ἀπειλαί.*
58. audiui enim et hoc eum dixisse "Qui mecum sunt, non me intellexerunt."	vi. *οὓς ἐξελέξω, ἔτι σοι ἀπιστοῦσιν;*
62. in ueneno radices emittes.	xiii. *ἡ κατωτικὴ ῥίζα.*
65, 6. flectamus ergo genua Christo: obaudiens nos etsi non clamauerimus; est qui uideat nos, etsi non uidetur istis oculis, sed in nobis est: si uolumus, non recedet a nobis.	Cf. xvii.
67. quae gratia ipsius quod coepimus (*l.* cepimus) scribsimus (*ἃ ἐχωρήσαμεν ἐγράψαμεν, Gr. ap. Isidor. Pelus.* II. ep. 99) etsi adhuc uobis infirma uidentur, capaciter tamen quae perferuntur in humana carne inferre.	i. *ἐγὼ...οὔτε γράψαι χωρῶ ἅ τε εἶδον ...καὶ καθὰ χωρεῖ ἕκαστος... κοινωνήσω ὧν ἀκροαταὶ δύνασθε γενέσθαι.*
unusquisque enim nostrum sicut capiebat uidere, prout poterat uidebat.	
dominus noster uolens me maiestatem suam uidere in monte sancto, uidens autem luminis splendorem eius cum filiis Zebedei, caecidi tamquam mortuus.	Cf. iii, iv.
uocem eius audiui talem qualem referre non possum.	iii. *φῶς τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἐστὶν δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρώμενον λόγῳ φθαρτῷ ἐκφέρειν οἷον ἦν.*
68, 9. lumen...quod enarrare nemo hominum possit.	

		xiii. *φωνὴν δὲ οὐ ταύτην τὴν ἡμῖν συνήθη κ.τ.λ.*
67.	iterum talem eum uidi qualem capere potui.	iv. *αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπιστραφέντα μικρὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀφθῆναι.*
	manducauit et uiuit (= bibit) propter nos, ipse neque esuriens neque sitiens.	Cf. viii.
68.	hunc magnum et minimum, formonsum et foedum, iuuenem et senem.	Cf. ii, iv.
	hunc Iesum habetis, fratres, ianuam, ... uiam, panem, ... uitam, resurrectionem, ... semen, ... gratiam, fidem, uerbum.	xiii. *ποτὲ μὲν λόγος καλεῖται... ποτὲ Ἰησοῦς... ποτὲ θύρα, ποτὲ ὁδός, ποτὲ ἄρτος, ποτὲ σπόρος, ποτὲ ἀνάστασις, ... ποτὲ ζωή, ... ποτὲ πίστις, ποτὲ χάρις.*
69.	quae possumus, domine, subportare, tu nobis praesta.	i. *βεβαίως φέρειν.*
	quae dixerunt: Quoniam seniorem uidimus, speciem habentem qualem tibi enarr<ar>e non possumus: aliae autem: Iuuenem adulescentem: alii autem dixerunt: Puerum uidimus....	i. *Μοι ὁ κύριος ὡς Ἰωάννης ὤφθη... καὶ ὡς νεανίσκος.*
		(Cf. ii.)
(70.	Marcellus sees the Lord and Peter exactly similar in form.)	
78.	*ὁμιλοῦντος τοῦ Πέτρου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.*	i. *ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν προσομιλῶν.*
92.	*ὦ φύσις ἀνθρώπου χωρισθῆναι θεοῦ μὴ δυναμένη.*	xv. *καὶ οὕτως χωρίσας ἄνθρωπον λέγω.*
	σταυρὸς μὴ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἔστω τὸ φαινόμενον... ἕτερον γάρ τί ἐστιν παρὰ τὸ φαινόμενον τοῦτο κατὰ <τὸ> τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάθος.	xiii. *οὐχ οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ σταυρὸς ὃν μέλλεις ὁρᾶν ξύλινον.*
	πηρώσατε ὑμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς ταύτας.	i. *πρὸς τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν.*
94.	*ἀπεκρέμασαν... ἀποκρεμάμενος.*	xii. *ἀπεκρεμάσθη* (*app. crit.*).
96.	*ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ καὶ ἡ μετάνοια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.*	xvi. *εἰς ἀνθρώπους <πρὸς> ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν.*

λόγε ζωῆς, ξύλον νῦν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ εἰρημένον.

εὐχαριστῶ σοι οὐκ ἐν χείλεσιν τούτοις...οὐδὲ γλώσσῃ...οὐδὲ λόγῳ τούτῳ...ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνῃ τῇ φωνῇ...τῇ μὴ δι᾽ ὀργάνων σώματος προϊούσῃ.

98. ἐπὶ τοῦτον οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, καταφυγόντες.

xiii. ποτὲ μὲν λόγος καλεῖται ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ δι᾽ ὑμᾶς.

xvii. προσκυνῶμεν αὐτῷ...μὴ δακτύλοις, μηδὲ στόμασιν,...μηδὲ γλώσσῃ, <μηδὲ> μηδενὶ ὅλως σωματικῷ ὀργάνῳ.

xviii. εἰς τοῦτο (? τοῦτον) οὖν ἐμμείναντες καὶ εἰς τοῦτο (? τοῦτον) οἰκοδομούμενοι.

ON THE ACTS OF ANDREW.

We have, as I have said, but few remains at present in print of the Gnostic Περίοδοι Ἀνδρέου. Our best authority for a general knowledge of the book is perhaps Gregory of Tours' *Miracula Andreae*, edited in a masterly manner by M. Bonnet in the second volume of the works of Gregory in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. M. Bonnet has also given us an edition of two late *Encomia*, based in part at least on the old Acts, in *Analecta Bollandiana* (1894, and separately). We have further, as is generally believed, two portions of the novel in a more or less Catholicised form—namely the *Acta Andreae et Matthaei* (*Matthiae*) (ed. Tischendorf) and the *Acta Petri et Andreae*. In my introduction to the *Acta Thomae* in the present volume I have something to say about the latter of these two documents. Lastly, M. Bonnet has some unpublished portions of the Acts yet to give us.

Can we determine from our present materials, whether the *Acta Andreae* were written by the author of the *Acta Petri* and *Acta Joannis*, in other words, by Leucius? External testimony would lead us to say that they were (see Lipsius on this point): does internal evidence point the same way?

Three passages in particular incline me to say Yes to this question.

(1) *The Vision of Andrew.* Greg. Turon. 20. Sequenti uero nocte uisum uidit beatus apostolus, quem etiam fratribus enarrauit, dicens: 'Audite, dilectissimi, somnium meum. Videbam, et ecce mons magnus erat in sublimi eleuatus, qui nihil super se de terrenis rebus habebat, nisi tantum luce resplendens, ita ut mundum putaretur inlu-

minare. Et ecce adstiterunt mihi dilectissimi fratres Petrus et Iohannes Apostoli; et Iohannes quidem, extensa manu Petro Apostolo, leuabat eum in uertice montis, et conuersus ad me rogabat ascendere post Petrum, dicens: "Andreas, poculum Petri bibiturus es." Et extensis manibus ait: "Adpropinqua mihi, et extende manus tuas, ut coniungantur manibus meis, et caput tuum capite meo societur." Quod cum fecissem, inuentus sum breuior esse Iohanni; et post haec ait mihi: "Vis cognoscere imaginem huius rei quam cernis, vel quis sit qui tibi loquitur?" Et ego aio: "Desidero ista cognoscere." Et ait mihi: "Ego sum Verbum crucis, in qua pendebis in proximo propter nomen eius quem praedicas." Et multa alia mihi dixit, quae nunc silere oportet: prodebuntur tamen tunc cum ad hanc immolationem accessero.'

Bonnet's *Encomia* (I) 37. *Ἐν τούτοις ὄντων αὐτῶν ὅραμα βλέπει...τοιόνδε· ἔδοξεν ὁρᾶν τὸν σωτῆρα Χριστὸν ἑστῶτα ἀντικρὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντα αὐτῷ· Ἀνδρέα, ἐπίθες τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὸν Λέσβιον·...σὺ δὲ τὸν σταυρόν σου ἆρας ἀκολούθει μοι σπεύδων ἐν Πάτραις· τάχιον γὰρ ὑπεξέρχῃ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου· διυπνισθεὶς οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ὁράματος τοῖς παροῦσι πιστοῖς ἐγνώρισε.*

What I wish to note upon this is that in Gregory the vision has distinct Leucian features, e.g., the phrase *Verbum crucis* (*ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ*): the mountain, the light; the words "Many other things he said unto me *which must not be uttered now.*" There seems to be an omission indicated by the words *et post haec.* But it is possible that the speaker who is described as John, and who describes himself as "the word of the Cross," is really Christ in the form of John. The coupling together of Peter, John, and Andrew would be appropriate to an author who wrote the adventures of these three Apostles.

(2) *The Address of Andrew to the Cross.* This is best preserved in the Greek *Encomia* (I) 46. It has not a few parallels with the two other Leucian books:

Andrew.	Peter (pp. 90 sqq.).	John.
ἥκω χαίρων πρός σε, ζωηρὲ σταυρέ, ὃν ἐπίσταμαι ἴδιον. γνωρίζω σου τὸ μυστήριον, διόπερ ἐν κόσμῳ πεφύτευσαι πρὸς τὸ τὰ ἄστατα στηρίξαι.	*ὦ ὄνομα σταυροῦ, μυστήριον ἀπόκρυφον.* Peter dwells on the parts	p. 18. *τῶν πεπηγμένων ἐν ἀνεδράστων κ.τ.λ.*

ἡ κορυφὴ μὲν γάρ σου πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνεται, ἵνα τὸν οὐράνιον λόγον, τὴν κεφαλὴν πάντων, σημάνῃς· τὰ δὲ τῆς μεσότητός σου μέρη ὡς οἷάπερ χεῖρες ἐξήπλωνται δεξιά τε καὶ ἀριστερά, ὅπως τὴν φθονερὰν καὶ ἀντικειμένην δύναμιν τοῦ πονηροῦ τροπώσῃ καὶ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃς εἰς ἕν· τὸ δὲ πρὸς πόδας μέρος πέπηκταί σου πρὸς γῆν, ἐδρασμένον ἐν βάθει, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ γῆν κειμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις κατεχομένους ἀνελκύσας συνάψῃς τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. .	of the cross, and the reversal, in his case, of *right* and *left*.
ἀλλὰ μέχρι πότε ταῦτα λέγων τῷ σταυρῷ;	ἀλλὰ τί μέλλω καὶ οὐ πρόσχρονίζω καὶ οὐ περιπλέκομαι· εἰμι τῷ σταυρῷ;

p. 6. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐρειδομένην.

p. 18. ὑπάρχουσιν δεξιοὶ καὶ ἀριστεροί, δυνάμεις, κ.τ.λ.

ibid. εἶτα καὶ εἰς <ἕν> πάντα πήξας.

Cf. p. 20, § xiv.

The Leucian teaching on the Cross is surely very perceptible here in spite of the Catholicising process which the speech has undergone.

(3) *The Speech of Andrew to Aegeates: Encomia* (I) 48.

οὐδ' ἂν ἴδιόν μου λέγῃς σεαυτὸν πεπίστευκά σοι...λύεις τὸν γνωρισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγενοῦς;...ἔχω ᾧ συνέσομαι εἰσαεί·...	*John* p. 20 μέχρι γὰρ μήπω ἴδιόν μου λέγεις ἑαυτόν,...ἀλλ' ὃ σὺ δύνῃ γνωρίζειν, συγγενὴς ὤν. σὺ μὲν ἔσῃ ὡς κἀγώ.
Martyrium 34. οἷα δὴ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πέφυκεν ὁ Σατανᾶς. Andrew was warned about Aegeates by Christ.	*Peter* p. 90 καὶ νῦν πρὸς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν μὴ πικραίνεσθε· διάκονος γάρ ἐστιν τῆς πατρικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνεργείας. Peter was warned by Christ of his death.

My conclusion from these passages is that, as far as our present materials go, we are justified in regarding the three great Acts, of Peter, John, and Andrew, as the works of one and the same author, who may be called, for the sake of convenience, Leucius.

THE ACTS OF THOMAS.

In the British Museum MS numbered Add. 10,073 are two unpublished Apocryphal writings, which I print in this volume. My attention was directed to the MS by the Rev. E. Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., who told me last year of the existence of the Apocalypse of Baruch which forms an item in this collection. He had himself come upon it by chance, and generously gave me the benefit of his discovery.

When I came to examine the MS, I found that besides the Apocalypse of Baruch it contained certain Acts of Thomas; and that these Acts coincided, not with the great Gnostic novel of which M. Bonnet has given us a complete and excellent edition, but with the narrative which, so far as was known, only existed in the Ethiopic *Gad'la Hawariyat*, or Conflicts of the Apostles: a collection of lives which the late Rev. S. C. Malan translated and published from a single MS, the property of Archdeacon Tattam, in 1871.

The Ethiopic narratives are probably all translations from the Arabic, and these again from the Coptic. Of some of the Coptic originals we possess large fragments: but as yet no remains are known of the Acts of Thomas in that language. The title survives in one Coptic MS. Further, it has generally been supposed that where we had Acts of an Apostle in Greek, and also in Coptic (or Ethiopic) differing from each other, the latter were not translated from Greek. The Acts of Thomas are a case in point. We possess, as I have said, an early romance in Greek of which the contents are very different from the Ethiopic: and Lipsius and others had taken it for granted that the latter was an original Oriental product.

Now, however, it appears as though that were not the case: for it is not *prima facie* a probable hypothesis that a Greek document of this kind should be a translation from Coptic. Yet, improbable as it may seem, it is a possibility which must be taken into account. Translations from Latin into Greek have been proved by M. Bonnet in the case of the Passions of St Andrew and St Bartholomew. We are most of us rather prone to regard a Greek document as probably an original composition, and not as a translation: but clearly in face of M. Bonnet's discoveries we can no longer take this as an axiom in dealing with hagiological literature at least.

It will therefore be necessary to look with some suspicion upon the book now before us, and keep our eyes open for indications that it is a version from some Eastern language, presumably Coptic.

But before we study the contents of these Acts, let us shortly describe the volume from which they are taken.

It is a small quarto paper book of the fifteenth century, consisting of 338 leaves, usually containing 21 lines on a page, and written throughout, I think, in one hand, save ff. 143—146, which are an insertion from some other volume.

It contains:

1. Leontii Episcopi Neapoleos: *ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸ εὐαγγελισμόν.* f. 1.
Τῆς παρούσης τιμίας.

This contains a long dialogue in which the Angel, the Virgin, and Joseph are the speakers. It ends imperfectly on f. 15*b* *ἡ θεοτόκος· φανήσεται σημεῖον ἐπίσημον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.*

2. Joannis Archiep. CPol. Chrysostomi *λόγος εἰς τὸ γενέσιον τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου·* f. 16.
Ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν.

This is the Protevangelium. The text goes down to the Flight into Egypt, the death of Zacharias not being given.

3. Gregorii Theologi Sermo de Resurrectione. f. 29*b*.
Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα.

4. Epiphanii Oratio *εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφήν.* f. 33.
Τί τοῦτο σήμερον.

5. Διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτοκου κ. ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας ὅτε ἔμελεν ἐκδημεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος. f. 50*b*.

Ὅτε ἔμελλεν ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. A text not essentially different from that printed by me in *Apocr. Anecd.* (1st series).

6. Ἱστορία Ἰακώβου εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Αὐγούστου Κέσαρος. f. 62.

The Protevangelium from the Nativity to the death of Zacharias.

7. Andreae Cretensis Sermo in S. Nicolaum. f. 67.

Ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πιστὲ θεράπων.

8. Martyrium S. Demetrii. f. 74*b*.

Εἶχε μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα.

Ends on f. 86: on 86*b* is only an inscription by πάπα Ἰωάννης dated 1692.

9. Martyrium S. Georgii. f. 87.

Imperfect at the beginning.

10. Dialogus Animae et Corporis. f. 98.

Πῶς κάθῃ, πῶς ἀμεριμνᾷς.

11. Vita S. Joannis Calybitae. f. 107.

12. Miraculum S. Michaelis apud Chonas. f. 117*b*.

13. Acta Thomae (the book now printed). f. 128.

14. Historia de Inuentione S. Crucis. f. 154.

15. Apocalypsis Baruchi (printed in this volume). f. 173.

16. Joannis Chrysostomi περὶ μετανοίας. f. 184*b*.

Δεῦτε πάντες ἀγαπητοί.

17. Διήγησις καὶ ἐξήγησις τῶν ἁγίων μακάρων τῶν ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ γῇ φανερωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίου Ζωσίμου διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου. f. 192.

Ἀνήρ τις ὀνόματι Ζώσιμος, οὐχ ὁ Ζώσιμος ὁ τὴν ὁσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ εὑρών.

An interpolated text, as it seems, of the Narratio Zosimi.

18. Vita S. Xenophontis. f. 208*b*.

19. Excerpta ex Historia Lausiaca (?). f. 223*b*.

Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τυφλῶν.

20. Μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ κέ. Μνήμη τοῦ μεγάλου σεισμοῦ (καὶ) τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἁρπαγῆς τοῦ παιδός. f. 259.

21. Encomium S. Joannis Euangelistae.

Οὗτος ἦν υἱὸς Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Σαλώμης.

22. Διήγησις εἰς τὸν θρῆνον Ἱερεμίου. f. 271*b*.
Ὁ μέγας προφήτης Ἱερεμίας.
The παραλειπόμενα (Reliqua uerborum Baruchi) begin on f. 274 ἐλάλησε κύριος πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν λέγων.

23. Memoria S. Nicephori.
Narratio de Macario Romano. f. 281.
Τρεῖς τινες ἡγιασμένοι γέροντες, Σέργιος καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Ῥιγῖνος.
This is the *Itinerarium Theophili* (ed. Vassiliev, *Anecd. Graeco-Byzantina*).

24. Historia Septem Dormientium. f. 288*b*.
25. Martyrium S. Babylae. f. 289.
26. Martyrium SS. Gobdelaa et Kasdoae. f. 291.
27. Narratio de conuersione Iberorum. f. 298.
28. Vita S. Joannis. f. 300.
29. Nov. 17. Martyrium et Miracula S. Menae. f. 302*b*.
30. De Leone Imperatore. f. 306.
31. Epistola Christi de Die Dominica. f. 307.
32. Martyrium S. Basilissae. f. 318.
33. Martyrium S. Hermionae. f. 319.
As in the printed *Menaea*, I think.
34. Synaxarium. f. 323—338.

I have been thus particular in giving the contents of the volume, because they are in themselves interesting, and may or ought to have a bearing on questions to be discussed; and also because in the present catalogue of Additional MSS there is no enumeration of the items.

I have only to add that the volume was purchased at the Heber sale as Lot 1428.

In order to make quite clear the relations of the two forms of the Acts of Thomas which we now possess in Greek, I will set down a very brief analysis of the contents of each so far as they are instructive in this regard, calling the fuller Acts, edited by M. Bonnet, A, and the form here printed B. The main variations of the Ethiopic account (Eth.) are added.

A.

1. The Apostles are assembled in Jerusalem. They draw lots for the countries of the world. India falls to Thomas. He is unwilling to go. Christ appears to him at night, and bids him go, but he still refuses.

2. A merchant of king Gundaphorus, by name Abbanes, is there, who is commissioned to buy a craftsman. Christ appears to him and sells Thomas to him (for three litrai of gold, and writes the deed) without the latter's knowledge. Thomas is told, and submits.

3. They embark. In answer to Abbanes Thomas tells him he can make "ploughs, yokes, τρυτάνας, ships, oars, masts, pulleys: in stone, pillars, temples and kings' palaces."

They sail with a fair wind and arrive at the city Andrapolis.

4—16. The story of the marriage-feast and the conversion of prince and princess.

17. They arive at Gundaphorus' city. Thomas makes the same answer about his qualifications as to Abbanes, and is commissioned to build the palace.

B.

1—4. After the resurrection Christ assembles the Apostles and bids them divide the countries of the world. India falls to Thomas. He complains to Christ, who encourages him and promises to send Peter with him.

5. Peter and Matthias are told to accompany Thomas. They arrive at a city. A merchant (Olbanus) of king Condiphorus (Cantacorus Eth.) talks to them. Peter bids him wait till their master Jesus comes. Jesus appears and sells Thomas for three litrai of gold and writes the deed. He gives the price to Thomas, saying that it represents the Trinity. Thomas bids farewell to Peter.

14. Thomas tells the merchant he is a builder and physician: he can make "temples, palaces, ships, just measures, ploughs, balances, and cure sickness without charge." They arrive at Condiphorus' city. The king marvels at the deed of sale, and sends Thomas to Leucius (Vecius Eth.) the ruler of India, with orders to build a palace.

18. Leucius is sent for by the king and gives orders that Thomas is to go on with the building. When L. is gone, Thomas preaches to his wife Arsinoë (Arsenia Eth.), overthrows her idols, and baptizes her.

30. Leucius returns and finds his wife converted, and no palace. Thomas is flayed alive. Arsinoë

kills herself. Christ appears and heals Thomas, who revives Arsinoë by means of his skin, baptizes Leucius, founds a Church, and departs to Kentera (Quantaria Eth.).

49. He meets an old man whose six sons have been killed. He raises them, confounds and converts the priest of the idols (of Apollo Eth.), founds a Church, and leaves them.

[In the Eth. Christ then appears to Thomas, clothes him with a skin, and sends him on a cloud to the Apostles, whom he finds assembled with Paul and the Virgin. They continue together for eighty days. Eth. ends here.]

Then follows a brief résumé of the story of the marriage-feast at Andrapolis and its sequel (4—16). He then goes *again* to king *Gundaphorus*, who inquires about the palace. The story of A is shortly told.

After baptizing Gundaphorus etc., he goes to king Migdaeus and converts his son Ouazanes, his wife Tertia, and Magdonia and Narca. He is consequently pierced with lances by five soldiers. This is told in a few lines.

18—29. The story of the palace, the death and revival of Gad the king's brother, and the baptism of both.

pp. 44—95 are occupied with the conversion of Charisius, Mygdonia, Iouzanes, Tertia, Siphor, Narcia, and Misdaeus, and with the martyrdom of Thomas, who is pierced with lances by four soldiers and a captain.

Fortunately, one considerable question in regard to these two forms of the Acts admits but of one answer. B, as we have it, must be later than A. Its formed ecclesiastical terminology, and its lack of all Gnostic colouring would suffice to show this.

One fault, however, we must not find with it. It would be easy to point to the Greek B and say that it was manifestly a fusion of two documents, in view of its return, in its last pages, to the plot of A. As it stands, it is no doubt a fusion and a confusion; but that is the fault of a redactor who sought to harmonise it with A, and is not attributable to the author of B. The clumsiness of the patch-work is seen in the fact that, while throughout the rest of B the king's name is Condiphorus, it suddenly becomes in the last pages Gundaphorus, as in A. The true form of the end of B is probably that which we see in the Ethiopic.

So far then B can be treated as a complete document. But, conceding this, what is its relation to A? The two stories start with the same situation, the Division of the Apostles, the sale of Thomas, the order to build a palace. There they part company. The king disappears from B altogether, and is replaced by Leucius and Arsinoë. There are a few allusions to the palace, but the principal indictment against the Apostle is that he has converted Arsinoë, and not that he has failed to build the palace. In fact, if we cut out altogether the elements due to A, we get quite a consistent story.

But at this point a new factor comes in. We have to remember that we find B in Ethiopic as one item in a series. The component parts of that series are derived from very various sources; but among them are several which have features in common with B. I mean this, that they begin with the Division of the Apostles (and appearance of Christ in several cases), and that the Apostle whose acts are narrated is accompanied to the scene of his labours by Peter. We must then except the Division of the Apostles from the elements necessarily taken from A by B. I think it will be useful to tabulate the Ethiopic Acts with reference to their structure and sources, before we go on with our examination.

1. Passion of Peter.		From Leucius.
2. Passion of Paul.		From the Ancient Acts.
3. Preaching of James the Just.	Division of Apostles Peter accompanies him.	Source unknown.
Martyrdom of James the Just.		From Hegesippus, with additions.

4. Preaching of Simeon son of Cleopas.	Division of Apostles. Peter accompanies him.	Source unknown.
Martyrdom of Simeon.		From Hegesippus, with additions.
5. Preaching of Bartholomew.	Division of Apostles. Peter accompanies him.	Source unknown.
Martyrdom of Bartholomew.		Source unknown.
6. Acts of Matthew.	Meets Peter and Andrew.	Source unknown.
Martyrdom of Matthew.		Source unknown.
7. Martyrdom of Luke.	Division of Apostles mentioned: and Peter.	Source unknown.
8. Preaching of Philip.	Division of Apostles. Peter accompanies him.	Source unknown.
9. Martyrdom of Philip.		Faint resemblance to Acts of Philip.
10. Acts of Andrew and Bartholomew.		Resembles Acts of Andrew and Matthew. A Greek copy in MS at Jerusalem.
11. Preaching of Andrew.		Source unknown.
Martyrdom of Andrew.		Source unknown.
12. Acts of John.		From Acts by Prochorus.
Death of John.		From Leucian Acts.
13. Martyrdom of James son of Alphaeus.		Source unknown.
14. Preaching of Matthias.	Division of Apostles.	From Acts of Andrew and Matthew.
Martyrdom of Matthias.		Resembles Acts of Matthew.
A Miracle (of Thomas from the Acts ed. Bonnet, p. 31).		
15. Preaching of James son of Zebedee.	Division of Apostles. Peter accompanies him.	Source unknown.
Martyrdom of James.		Source unknown.
16. Martyrdom of Mark.	Division of Apostles.	Ancient Acts.
17. Preaching of Thomas.	Division of Apostles. Peter.	Partly from old Acts.
Miracle of Thomas.		From old Acts.
Martyrdom of Thomas.		From old Acts.
18. Preaching of Judas Thaddaeus.	Division of Apostles. Peter.	From Acts of Peter and Andrew.

To these we may perhaps add two items which exist only in Coptic, and in fragments.

19. Acts of Paul and Andrew.	Source unknown.
20. Martyrdom of Simon Zelotes.	Source unknown.

Both of these seem clearly Egyptian in origin.

Now in the above list we have two main categories of legends.

I. Those which follow a known (and extant) Greek original. These are the Acts of

Peter	from	Leucian Acts.
Paul	,,	Acts of Paul.
James the Just (Martyrdom)	,,	Hegesippus.
Simeon ,,	,,	Hegesippus.
John	,,	Prochorus and Leucius.
Matthias	,,	Acts of Andrew and Matthew Matthew.
(Miracle)	,,	Acts of Thomas.
Mark	,,	Greek Acts.
Thomas	,,	Greek printed here.
Miracle	,,	Acts of Thomas.
Martyrdom	,,	Acts of Thomas.
Jude	,,	Acts of Peter and Andrew.
Andrew and Bartholomew	,,	Greek MS Acts at Jerusalem.

II. Acts with no known Greek originals.

James the Just (Preaching).
Simeon ,,
Bartholomew.
Matthew.
Luke.
Philip.
Andrew.
James son of Alphaeus.
James son of Zebedee.

In this second class all the Acts save those of Matthew, Andrew and James son of Alphaeus have some mention of the Division of the Apostles and of the escort by Peter, while in those of Matthew the Apostle meets Peter and is helped by him.

The first class is capable of further analysis: some of the Greek originals mentioned in it belong to the first stratum of Apocryphal Acts. Such are the Acts of Peter, Paul, John, Thomas. Others we may call literary: I mean the Acts of James the Just and Simeon. A third variety are secondary Apocryphal Acts, i.e. Prochorus, the Acts of Matthew, of Mark, of Peter and Andrew. Lastly, there are two which may be regarded as the direct originals (or versions) of the Ethiopic (or Coptic) Acts, viz.,

the Acts of Thomas, and of Andrew and Bartholomew, of each of which only one Greek copy is as yet known.

One document in the Ethiopic collection presents a curious phenomenon, which may have a bearing on our Acts of Thomas. I mean the preaching of Judas Thaddaeus. This is simply a version of the Acts of Peter and Andrew, with the name of Judas substituted for that of Andrew. Lipsius (*Apokr. Apostelgeschichte* i. 553) regards the Acts of Peter and Andrew as a fragment of the old Περίοδοι Ἀνδρέου, immediately following upon the Acts of Andrew and Matthew, but preserved only in a Catholic redaction. This is quite possible. But the similarity of the language to that of our Acts of Thomas (B), and the similarity of the incidents to those which we find in other Ethiopic Acts, incline us to attribute it to the school—perhaps to the very hand—which wrote B[1].

Now I do not think that the contention can be supported that these Acts are a translation into Greek from any oriental language. The Ethiopic form is clearly an adaptation, omitting names, e.g. Rufus, Alexander, Matthias, Onesiphorus, and shortening the story materially at the end, besides giving Thaddaeus a sphere of work quite out of accordance with other traditions.

If then the Greek be the original form in this case (as I do not think we can doubt), the probability that the Acts of Thomas (B) are also original relatively to the Ethiopic (Coptic) is very much increased.

We are now in a better position to investigate the relation of the Acts of Thomas (B) to the Ancient Acts. The (B) narrative may be said to consist of three main elements.

[1] Compare Tisch. p. 162, the cloud conveying Andrew, with Malan, p. 205. *Ib.* Matthias, Rufus and Alexander, cf. Acts of Andrew and Bartholomew (Malan, p. 99). *Ib.* Ἀνδρίζου, cf. B § 45: κόπος, cf. B § 2: Appearance and greeting of Christ, χαῖρε, Πέτρε ἐπίσκοπε, cf. § 8: ἐγὼ ἔσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν, cf. §§ 8, 45: πορεύεσθε ἐν τῇ πόλει (et passim), cf. § 49: πάτερ Πέτρε, cf. § 6: meeting an old man, cf. § 49: episode of the woman placed on a pillar (mutilated in Gr.), cf. Eth. Preaching of Philip: the woman suspended in the air (wanting in Gr.), cf. § 63: "these two men are of the twelve enchanters who walk about...and deceive men" (wanting in Gr.), cf. § 59: Tisch. p. 164, θεραπεύοντες πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν, cf. § 37: πεσόντες παρὰ τοὺς πόδας, cf. § 58, etc.: τυφλοῖς τὸ βλέπειν ἐχαρίσαντο, κωφοῖς τὸ ἀκούειν, etc., cf. § 29: p. 165, ἐπάκουσόν μου τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ, cf. § 44: σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑμνούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Χερουβίμ, cf. § 22: ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, cf. § 22: p. 166, λίτρας χρυσίου, cf. § 10: τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγῖδα, cf. § 59.

a. The story of the sale of Thomas and of the Palace.

b. The episode of Leucius and Arsinoë.

c. The miracle at Kentera.

Of these the first may be at once said to be a perverted form of a corresponding episode in A.

The second has also its counterpart in A to some extent: for there great stress is laid on the separation of Mygdonia from her husband Charisius. But the flaying of Thomas, to say nothing of the destruction of the idols, is like nothing in A.

In the third episode the only thing that resembles A is the vision of Christ to the old man's son, forbidding him to marry, which might be taken from the second main incident in A, where Christ appears to the prince at Andrapolis and to his bride, and persuades them to remain chaste. In the main, however, the episode must be regarded as unconnected with A.

On the other hand it is markedly similar to other incidents in the Ethiopic collection. The words of the idol-priest about the twelve enchanters occur not only in the Preaching of Judas (= Peter and Andrew), but also in the Martyrdom of Matthias, and of James son of Zebedee, and something very near the same in the Conflicts of Bartholomew, Philip, Matthew, and Luke. The suspension of the priest in the air, again, is paralleled by incidents in Peter and Andrew, where a woman is so suspended; and in Andrew and Bartholomew, where idols are carried aloft. It is also found in Wright's Syriac Acts of Philip, where the sufferer is the Jew Hananya.

Again, the terms in which the founding of the Christian community and the working of cures are narrated recur in almost all the Ethiopic Acts of which no form is at present known in Greek.

All this tends to group very closely together this series of Acts, and points to their having been drawn up in one place and by one hand. And, further, we have seen reason to believe that they all existed at one time in Greek.

The point at which the legend of Thomas departs most widely from the ordinary story is in the statement that he was flayed. It is true that this process was not fatal to him, and that he comes by

his end in the received manner. Still, as Lipsius has remarked, the story reminds us of the common tradition (the Persian legend, as he calls it) of the martyrdom of Bartholomew. He suggests the possibility that a change of name—in other words an adaptation of Bartholomew's story to that of Thomas—has taken place. In the case of the Preaching of Judas, such a thing has clearly been done; but in the Acts of Thomas I see no evidence which confirms the conjecture.

As to the proper names which occur in our text Olbanos, the merchant, is clearly Abbanes of A, just as Condiphorus is Gundaphorus. Leucius (Vecius Eth.) is a name which it is always interesting to find connected with Apocryphal Acts. Arsinoë (Arsenia Eth.) may point to Egypt as the place of writing. That the whole series of Acts were written in Egypt is likely enough, since they were adopted by the Egyptian Church.

Lastly, in Kentera (Quantaria Eth.) as the name of a city, I see a possible corruption of Gadeira. I cannot substantiate the guess.

The document is mainly interesting as throwing light upon the origin of the Egyptian cycle of Acts. Lipsius assigns to this collection a date between 400 and 540 A.D., so that, although this may be a fragment of the collection in its most original form, we cannot say that it has an early date to recommend it.

A few words must be said in conclusion as to the probability of the Greek being a translation from a Coptic original. M. Bonnet, with whom I have corresponded on the subject, is inclined to uphold this view, and, if necessary, would allow that the *Acta Petri et Andreae* might also be a translation from Coptic. He calls attention to one point which makes against him. In § xlv. of the Acts of Thomas is a quotation from Mark xvi. 17, 18, and in this, while most of the verbs are changed from the 3rd to the 2nd person, one (*ἀροῦσιν*) is left in the 3rd person. This, he says, might be taken as a slip on the part of a man writing in Greek: but it might also be a slip made by a translator who recognised that a quotation was being made, and referred to a written copy of the Gospel in Greek. M. Bonnet also notes, as indications that the Acts are a version, the corrupted forms of the proper names Κονδιφόρος, Ὄλβανος, etc.

An examination of other Scriptural quotations (in §§ xx., xxxvii., xliv., xlvii.) shows that they are made from a Greek text. The two ostensible quotations from Habakkuk in § xxv. are not from that prophet. In the rest of the text I am for my own part unable to see any clear indication that we are dealing with a translation: but upon this point I shall hope for some expression of opinion from Coptic scholars.

In two points the Ethiopic version is, I think, superior to the Greek, namely, in the retention of a story told by the "men of the city" of a miracle done by Thomas for a widow (§ 39): and also in the conclusion of the document, where Thomas is carried off on a cloud. In other respects, the Greek seems to me generally clearer and better than the Ethiopic.

LETTERS OF HEROD AND PILATE.

I PUBLISH here, as elsewhere in this volume, what is not exactly an *anecdoton*, but a more original form of a writing already known.

In his *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature* of the *New Testament* (1865), Professor W. Wright published the Syriac text of the letters of Herod and Pilate, with an English translation. The letters also appeared in English in Mr B. Harris Cowper's *Apocryphal Gospels*, as well as in subsequent collections.

Professor Wright's authority for the text was the British Museum MS Add. 14,609 ff. 120 *a*—122 *a*. This is of the sixth or seventh century.

I now print the Greek originals of these letters from the only MS I can hear of which contains them. This is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Cod. Gr. 929. It is a paper book of the xvth century and contains the letters on pp. 64—71. They appear at the end of a recension of the *Acta Pilati* which is combined with the *Anaphora* and *Paradosis* of Pilate and with the *Narratio Josephi*. The MS was used by Thilo, who in his *Codex Apocryphus*, pp. ccxxiii, ccxxiv, describes it, mentions the Letters, and prints a few lines of the first in a note. He calls it Cod. B. Tischendorf calls it E in his *Evang. Apocr.*, and on p. lxxx speaks of having copied the Letters.

This volume also contains the only known copy of the *Apocalypsis Esdrae*, printed by Tischendorf.

I was anxious to obtain a transcript of these Letters in Greek: and in December, 1895, the Rev. A. E. Brooke was kind enough to make one for me, which Mr N. McLean revised with the MS.

The documents do not require a long introduction. The chief points which I find to note in them are: first, that they belong to the cycle represented by the *Anaphora* and *Paradosis* of Pilate, with which our MS combines them. They take the milder view of Pilate, to say the least, in common with most Eastern Churches. One coincidence of language deserves particular remark. In the *Paradosis* (§ 10) and in the Letter of Pilate alike the words occur: *μακαριοῦσίν σε πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ καὶ αἱ πατριαί.* The name of Pilate's wife Πρόκλα is also identical in the two documents.

In the Letter of Herod is a coincidence with another Greek apocryphal writing, the life of John Baptist by Eurippus, a disciple of John (ed. Vassiliev, *Anecd. Graeco-Byzantina*, p. 4). In this the death of Herodias is thus described. *Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἡρώδου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ χειμερινῇ ὄντος παγετοῦ παίζουσα πλησίον φρέατος πεπηγότος τοῦ ὕδατος, πεσοῦσα ἐν τῷ ὕδατι διαλύει. βουλόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἔγγιστα ἀνασπάσαι αὐτὴν ἐτμήθη ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ κορμὸς* (= trunk) *αὐτῆς ἀπῆλθεν κάτω. καθεζομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἠνέχθη ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.* The *débris* of this story survives in the *Legenda Aurea* (cxxv. De decoll. S. Jo. Bapt.): 'Filia uero eius cum super glaciem deambularet, sub ea glacies resoluitur et ipsa in aquis continuo praefocatur. In chronica uero quadam dicitur quod terra ipsam uiuam deglutiuit.' Cedrenus also has the story (I. 322: col. 360 ed. Migne): *τὴν δὲ ὀρχησαμένην κόρην ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποτομῇ τοῦ προδρόμου ζῶσαν κατέπιεν ἡ γῆ· οἱ δέ φασιν ὅτι εἰς πάγον παίζουσα ἐπάνω λίμνης, διαρραγέντος κατῆλθε κάτω, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποσφηνωθείσης τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἅπαν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν κατῆλθεν, ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ ἐπάνω τοῦ πάγου ὑπελείφθη.*

Ps.-Dorotheus (extracts in App. to *Chron. Paschale*, ed. Dindorf ii. 138) says: *Ἐπὶ ὑπατείας Γάλβου καὶ Σύλλα· ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ὑπάτῳ ὑπὸ κρύους παγωθείσης τῆς λίμνης Γενησαρέτ, ἡ θυγάτηρ τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος κατὰ τέρψιν ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγους ἀπέβαινεν· τοῦ δὲ πάγου διατρυβέντος, τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς κατεπόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πάγους ἄνωθεν ἐμφυέντος· ἡ δὲ Ἡρωδιάς, ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς ἀποθεμένη τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς θυγατρός, κλαίουσα ὡμολόγει <ὅτι> διὰ τοῦ αἰτήσασθαι αὐτὴν τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ τοῦτο ὑπέμεινεν· καὶ Ἡρώδης δὲ κατὰ ταύτην βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τετραρχήσας ἀπέθανεν σκωλικόβρωτος γενόμενος· ἐκληρονόμησεν*

δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ Πιλάτος, καθότι* κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἡρώδου· καὶ οἱ τέσσαρες υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἡρωδιάς, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχεν αὐτούς, σκωλικόβρωτοι γενόμενοι ἐξέψυξαν.

The mention of Herodias holding her daughter's head on her knees, and of the death of Herod's sons seems to show a connexion with the Letters here printed.

Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 20) gives it in this form: ὁ δέ γε τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς θάνατος (ἄξιον γὰρ αὐτὸν διηγήσασθαι) τοιόσδε τις ἦν· ἐπί τινα τόπον ταύτῃ δεῆσαν ὥρᾳ χειμῶνος πορεύεσθαι καὶ ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπείπερ ἐκεῖνος κεκρυστάλλωτο καὶ πεπηγὼς ἦν, ὑπὲρ νώτου αὕτη διήει πεζεύουσα· περιρραγέντος δὲ τοῦ κρυστάλλου (οὐκ ἀθεεὶ δὲ πάντως τὸ συμβὰν ἦν) κατερρύη μὲν εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτὴ ἄχρι δή που καὶ κεφαλῆς, καὶ ὑπωρχεῖτο σπαργῶσα καὶ ὑγρῶς λιγυζομένη, οὐκ ἐν γῇ ἀλλ' ἐν ὕδατι· ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ τῷ κρύει παγεῖσα, εἶτα καὶ διαθραυσθεῖσα, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιρεθεῖσα σώματος, οὐ ξίφει ἀλλὰ κρυστάλλῳ, ὑπὲρ τῶν πάγων ὠρχεῖτο καὶ αὕτη τὴν ἐπιθανάτιον ὄρχησιν. This passage has been, I think, the *locus classicus* on the subject.

Modern literature has not made much of the situation; but in Henry Vaughan's poems (ed. Lyte, p. 185) I find this stanza and foot-note:

> "Leave then, young sorceress; the *Ice*
> Will those coy spirits cast asleep,
> Which teach thee how to please his eyes,
> Who doth thy lothsome mother keep.

Her name was *Salome*; in passing over a frozen river, the ice broke under her and chopt off her head."

The name Lesbonax as that of a member of the Herodian family seems to be an effort of imagination on the part of the author. It is not without a certain suggestive appropriateness; for the best known bearers of it were rhetoricians, and these Letters are little more than a rhetorical exercise.

The amusing story about Longinus, which is appended to Herod's Letter, comes from another hand. Longinus is seen in it, not as the converted centurion, who is a saint and martyr of the Church, but as the hard-hearted Roman soldier who carried out the sentence of crucifixion. It may represent a local legend of

Palestine. The punishment of Longinus is modelled on that of Tityus or Prometheus.

The colophon applies to the whole text of the *Acta Pilati, Anaphora*, etc., and not only to the matter immediately preceding. The date which we may assign to the Letters cannot be an early one : there is nothing in language or matter which suggests either age or characteristic doctrinal standpoint. On the other hand, they are found in a MS of the sixth or seventh century in Syriac; and they may quite well be a couple of centuries older than that.

It will be noticed that there is a lacuna in the letter of Pilate, the extent of which points to the loss of one leaf in an ancestor of our MS.

LETTER OF TIBERIUS TO PILATE.

A VERY much later effort of the ecclesiastical romancer is the Letter of Tiberius to Pilate. This has been twice printed, and both times very badly, by Birch and Fleck. I think it is just worth while—seeing that both the editions are rather uncommon books—to give here a text which I have constructed from a comparison of the two.

The document takes the unfavourable view of Pilate, and gives us a story of his death which I at least have never seen elsewhere. It also alludes to the legend of St Mary Magdalen's journey to Rome to accuse Pilate—a legend which has not received much attention. By way of putting on record a fact or two about it, I will say that Glycas (p. 435, Bonn. ed.) mentions the story in these words: *λέγεται δὲ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ Μαριά μέχρι καὶ Ῥώμης τρέχει, πολλὰ καταβοῶσα τῶν παρηνομηκότων εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστόν· τοσοῦτον δὲ Τιβέριος τὸν θυμὸν ἀνῆψεν ὥστε καταδικάσαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Πιλάτῳ, εἰ καί τινες ἕτεροι αὐτόχειρα λέγουσι τὸν Πιλᾶτον ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι.*

On p. 430 he gives a legend which probably refers to this visit of Mary Magdalen to Rome. It was said (*φημίζεται παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς*) that Galen, the physician, met with the Magdalen, and was told by her about the healing of the man born blind; and that he said to her that Christ must have been well acquainted with the "metals of the earth" in order to give eyes to the blind man. The situation reminds one of Browning's "Epistle of Karshish." Glycas cautions his reader against believing the story.

Again, Cedrenus (I. 343 ed. Par., col. 380 Migne) has a paragraph seemingly founded upon our text.

Οἱ δὲ Μαρίαν τὴν Μαγδαληνὴν λέγουσι κατ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Πιλάτου) τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσελθεῖν, ὃς δέρματι βοείῳ νεοδάρτῳ τοῦτον μετὰ ἀλέκτορος καὶ ἐχίδνης καὶ πιθήκου, ὥς ἐστιν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις, ἐγκλείσας καὶ εἰς καῦσιν ἡλίου θεὶς ἀπέκτεινεν· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀσκὸν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν.

Either Cedrenus has assigned the death of Annas, as described in our text, to Pilate, or else our text has made a blunder.

Nicephorus (*Eccl. Hist.* ii. 10) writes as follows:

Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος Πιλᾶτος ἐπί τε Τιβερίου τῆς ἐκ Μαγδάλων Μαρίας Ῥώμῃ τε προσβαλούσης καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα ἀνενεγκούσης πλεῖστα μὲν περιυβρισθῆναι λέγεται, κ.τ.λ.

Later on in the same chapter he says that Annas and Caiaphas and the scribes and Pharisees were punished; but he does not specify the methods of their death.

Joannes Cinnamus (vi) and Const. Manasses have brief notices of the journey of Mary Magdalen to Rome, but add no new details.

The writer of the Letter meant it to figure as an answer (and sequel) to the *Anaphora Pilati;* but a sequel of a very different kind to the *Paradosis Pilati.* His knowledge of the *Anaphora* is clear; he calls it "thy deceitful writing which has come to me."

The complexion of the whole document is Western. It is a Greek *Vindicta Saluatoris.* The element of the female accuser—here St Mary Magdalen, in the Latin document Veronica,—is common to both, and so too is the exaggerated hatred of the Jews and of Pilate.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.

THIS Apocalypse of Baruch was first noticed (as I said in my prefatory remarks to the Acts of Thomas in this volume) by the Rev. E. Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., who most kindly told me of his find, and intimated that he did not himself propose to publish it. To him, therefore, the thanks of scholars are in the first instance due; and I should like to express my own personal gratitude to him in this place. He has added a most curious and amusing document to the apocryphal literature.

I have already described the MS from which this book is printed, namely, Cod. Mus. Brit. Add. 10,073, and have given some account of its contents (see Introduction to the Acts of Thomas). We may pass at once to the consideration of the character of the book itself.

Our unique MS is a late one: but the Apocalypse is of very considerable age. There is but one patristic allusion to it, so far as I can discover, but that is in the works of Origen. It is in the *De Principiis* ii. 3. 6, where, in speaking of the plurality of *mundi*, he says "Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis huius testimonium uocant, quod ibi de septem mundis uel caelis euidentius indicatur." And I think our book is clearly the one referred to: for, though a seventh heaven is never reached in the prophet's progress, the book is evidently incomplete as we have it, and the existence of further heavens is implied.

One version of this book in another language exists. In the list of Slavonic writings contributed by Bonwetsch to Harnack's *Altchristlichen Litteratur* i. 916 is the following entry:

"Die Apokalypse des Baruch. Gedruckt von Novaković. *Starine* xviii. 205—209 nach einer serbischen Handschrift der 15ten Jahrh. *Inc.* Als er weinte vor (?) etc."

Also in the Catalogue of Count F. A. Tolstoj's MSS (Moscow, 1826) I. 214, ff. 291—293 is mentioned a Vision of Baruch, beginning: "When the Lord came down into Paradise."

The first of these items seemed likely to be identical with our book; and accordingly I applied to Mr W. R. Morfill, Reader in Russian and the other Slavonic languages in the University of Oxford, whose recent translation of the Slavonic Book of Enoch for Mr Charles's edition marked him out as the leading if not the only English authority in these matters: and he at once furnished me with a translation of the Slavonic version of this Apocalypse, made from the text printed in the *Starine*. Need I say that his great kindness deserves the warmest thanks not only of myself but of other students in the field?[1]

Of the character of the Slavonic version it will be time to speak when we come to examine the text of Baruch in detail. It suffices for the moment to say that it seems to be a rendering of an abridged text of the book.

Nothing is known at present of the Vision of Baruch contained in Count Tolstoj's MS. Its opening words do not enable one to identify it with any of the books of Baruch which have appeared in print.

There is also an Apocalypse of Baruch in Ethiopic, whose existence may as well be recorded here, though it does not seem to be a version of our book.

Dillmann, *Cat. Codd. Aeth. Mus. Brit.* xix. (Add. 16,223).

"*Apocalypsis Baruchi* sub titulo "Visio quae S. Barucho reuelata est," pp. 1—20.

"Duabus e partibus constat, in quarum priore Baruch, ab Angelo Surjâl ductus, et damnatorum et beatorum loca perlustrat, in altera autem de fatis Ecclesiae, potissimum Aethiopicae, reuelationes accipit. Apocalypsi quam in xviii. 1 inuenimus simillima est" (this is a revelation of the Virgin).

What is the relation of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch to the

[1] For a notice of Professor Bonwetsch's translation of the Slavonic, see Preface.

rest of the Baruch literature? We possess under the name of this obscure prophet the following writings:

1. The Book of Baruch is included among the *Apocrypha*, and is appended to the Book of Jeremiah in the LXX. and Vulgate. This seems to consist of two parts: (1) cc. i.—iii. 8, which are pre-Christian and probably go back to a Hebrew original, (2) cc. iii. 9—v., which seem to have been written after A.D. 70 in Greek.

2. The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch. Extant only in one MS (with the exception of the Epistle at the end, which was current separately) at Milan. Edited by Ceriani, and by Fritzsche (in a Latin translation): a new edition, by the Rev. R. H. Charles, has just appeared. This book was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and closely resembles 4 Esdras in its general style and tone.

3. The Rest of the Words of Baruch. This, otherwise called the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah, exists in Greek, Ethiopic, and Armenian[1]. The best edition is that by Dr J. Rendel Harris (Cambridge, 1889), who in his Preface gives a most valuable account of the books connected with the name of Baruch. This particular book is assigned by him to a date soon after A D. 136. It is Christian, and shows clearly an acquaintance with the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch. The name given to it by its editor is 3 Baruch.

4. The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch now printed. Of this I must only remark here that its opening words imply a knowledge of 3 Baruch. It may conveniently be called 4 Baruch.

5. The Ethiopic Apocalypse mentioned above.

Besides these five books we have certain fragments and quotations assigned to Baruch, which are not found in the extant books. These are:

(*a*) A quotation in the *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* 17 (Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* i. 3, p. 25) "[Baruch], prope finem libri sui de natiuitate eius et de habitu uestis et de passione eius et de

[1] Recently printed in a volume of Armenian Uncanonical Books of the O.T. Venice, 1896, pp. 349—364. See pp. 164, 165.

resurrectione eius prophetauit dicens: *Hic unctus meus, electus meus, uuluae incontaminatae iaculatus, natus et passus dicitur.*"

(*b*) A passage in Cyprian's *Testimonia* iii. 29 (not in all MSS): quoted by Dr Rendel Harris l. c. pp. 10, 11. In style it resembles the Syriac Apocalypse (which we may call 2 Baruch).

(*c*) A prophecy quoted in Solomon of Baṣrah's *Book of the Bee* (ed. by Dr E. A. Wallis Budge in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* 1886) c. xxxvii. p. 81, where Baruch is identified with Zoroaster. It relates to the birth of Christ and the appearance of the star.

Quite apart from this literature, and only to be mentioned here for completeness' sake, is the Book of Baruch in which was contained the system of Justin the Gnostic. It is described by Hippolytus *Refut. Haer.* v. 24—27. In it Baruch is an angel.

When we come to examine in detail the relations between 4 Baruch and its predecessors, we find a possible point of connexion between it and 2 Baruch (the Syriac Apocalypse). In 2 Bar. lxxvi. 3 God says to Baruch, "Go up unto the top of this mountain, and there shall pass before thee all the regions of this earth, and the shape of the world, and the summit of the mountains, and the depth of the valleys, and the depths of the sea, and the number of the rivers, that thou mayest see what thou art leaving and whither thou art going." This is a promise of what we may call "cosmical" revelations: I mean such a panorama of the universe as is shown to Enoch in the first part of his book. In 2 Baruch this promise is not fulfilled: but in 4 Baruch we do find something in the nature of a fulfilment: and it is possible that the author may have written with this text of 2 Baruch in his mind.

The references to 3 Baruch are unmistakable in the title of 4 Baruch, where we read that Baruch "stood upon the river Gel, weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem, where also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God at the farm of Agrippa." This is an allusion to 3 Bar. iii. v. sqq. Further, the complaint of Baruch to God in 4 Bar. i. is in the same tone as the words of Jeremiah in 3 Bar. i. (and of Baruch in 2 Bar. iii. etc.). The words ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια allude to the hiding of the sacred vessels, which is also narrated in 3 Bar.

Again in the hymn of Jeremiah, 3 Bar. ix., as it is found in Cod. Barocc. 240 (not in Dr Rendel Harris's text), is an instructive passage: *καὶ ἡ μελέτη μου (ἐστὶ)* Μιχαὴλ *ὁ ἀρχάγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης (ὁ ἀνοίγων τὰς πύλας τοῖς δικαίοις) ἕως ἂν εἰσενέγκῃ τοὺς δικαίους.* In 4 Bar. xi. Michael is described as *ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

The words I quoted from the title of the book are not so convincing a proof of the posteriority of 4 Bar. to 3 Bar. as they might be, just because it is in the title that they occur, and, as probability suggests and experience shows, titles and conclusions of books are very liable to be recast and added to in the course of time. In this case we have an awkward transition from the third person to the first (in c. i.), and it is also to be noted that the Slavonic omits all the characteristic allusions in this place. Still it is difficult on grounds of language to place 4 Baruch earlier, even if the references to 3 Baruch are set aside. On the other hand, if it be the book to which Origen refers, it is likely to have been of some age and standing in his time. Provisionally it may be placed in the second century. Perhaps its date may be more accurately defined by its relations to other literature.

As a means of getting our bearings for the study of this question it will be useful to examine the contents of 4 Baruch in some detail, and to take note of parallels to other books as they occur.

Title. *ὃς ἔστη ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ γέλ.* It is not easy to see what underlies the name of the river, and the Slavonic version does not give a rendering of this clause. The conjecture which most commends itself to me at present is *κεδρῶν.* Part of the word has gone and κεδ- has passed into γελ. The locality must be in or near Jerusalem, for we are told just after this that Baruch sat "at the beautiful gates." And further in 2 Bar. v. 6, xxi. 1, xxxi. 1, he goes to the valley of Cedron. The rest of the Title has been commented upon already, but I must add that *ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πύλας* reminds us of 2 Bar. x. 5: sedi ante portas templi.

c. i. The complaint of Baruch has parallels in 2, 3 Baruch, as has been said, and also in 4 Esdr. iii. With *τὸν ἀμπελῶνά σου* we may compare besides Isa. v. (Ps. lxxix. and Ezek. xvii.), the expression *elegisti uineam unam* in 4 Esdr. v. 23.

Later on, *ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν* is from Dan. x. 11 (Theod.): where also is the word *σύνες* and the statement of the angel that he is sent to the seer, and further in *v.* 12 it is said that Daniel's prayer has been heard.

ἄλλα μυστήρια τούτων μείζονα. At this point there is a *prima facie* suggestion of a lacuna. Baruch has as yet seen nothing. It is difficult to guess what could have filled the lacuna, supposing it to exist: so that I prefer to regard the phrase as an assimilation to the words of the angel in cc. ii. and v.

ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως, though not unknown to the LXX, is much more characteristic of Christian thought.

ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων. This phrase occurs in the Greek Enoch xx. 1 (which in the Gizeh MS is given in two texts). The continuous text begins the chapter with these words: *Ἄγγελοι τῶν δυνάμεων.* These words are not in the text. In lxi. 10 we have "angels of power." The nearest approach in N. T. seems to be 2 Thess. i. 7 *ἄγγελοι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.*

c. ii. *λαβών με ἤγαγέν με ὅπου ἐστήρικτωι ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ ὅπου ἦν ποταμός κ.τ.λ.* The river is, of course, the Ocean. So in *Apoc. Pauli* 21 *ἔστησέν με ἐπάνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐστήρικτο εἰς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ὁ δὲ ποταμός ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. καὶ λέγει μοι Οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς ὠκεανός ἐστιν*, and also in 31. Also *Test. Abr.* B viii. (and Arabic) *καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ποταμόν.* In Enoch xvii—xix., a passage regarded by Mr Charles as intrusive, and full of Greek ideas, we have perhaps the earliest occurrence of this notion in apocalyptic literature. Thus in xvii. 5, 6 the *θάλασσα μεγάλη δύσεως* and the *μέγας ποταμὸς* occur, and in xviii. 5 *ἴδον (παρὰ τὰ) πέρατα τῆς γῆς τὸ στήριγμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπάνω*, and in xxxiii. 2 "the ends of the earth, whereon the heaven rests."

ποταμὸς ὃν οὐδεὶς δύναται περάσαι αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ξένη πνοὴ ἐκ πασῶν ὧν ἔθετο ὁ θεός. Compare Zosimas (*Apocr. Anecd.*) ii.: when Zosimas wishes to cross the river a voice from the water says to him "*οὐ δύνασαι διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δύναται ἄνθρωπος τὰ ὕδατά μου διακόψαι*": then the cloud over the river says "*δι' ἐμοῦ οὐ διέρχεται πετεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οὐδὲ*

πνοὴ ἀνέμου οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος." I think that *πνοὴ* must be understood in this passage of 4 Baruch, as in Zosimas, of a breath of wind, and not in its more usual meaning of a living creature (cf. Polycarp, *Ep.* ii. *ᾧ πᾶσα πνοὴ λατρεύει*: so in 4 Bar. viii., Ps. cl. 6, and other passages cited in Lightfoot's note). Other slight resemblances to Zosimas occur in the next few lines: compare *εἰσήλθομεν ὡς ἐν πτέρυξιν* with *ὕψωσέν με εἰς τὸ πτερύγιον αὐτοῦ* (Z. ii.), and *πορείας ὁδοῦ ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα* with *ὁδεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα* (ibid.), also *ὑπέδειξέν μοι πεδίον* with *ἦν ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος πεδινός* (Z. iii.).

The heavens described in the progress of Baruch, which begins at this point, are of a very different character from those found in most Apocalypses of the kind. Mr Charles in his Introduction to the Slavonic Enoch has collected a great deal of very valuable matter illustrative of this point: from this and other sources a table may be usefully drawn up to show the various schemes presented in Apocalyptic literature. (See next page.)

θύρα πανμεγέθης. The doors of heaven figure in Rev. iii. 8, and in Slav. En. xiii. etc.; but here they are the gates by which the sun goes forth. Probably the earliest occurrence of the phrase is in Ps. lxxvii. 23.

The name of Baruch's angel is given in the MS as *Φαμαῆλ*. This, as we see from the Slav., is a corruption of *Φανουήλ*: cf. § 4 *σαμουῆλ* for *σαμαὴλ*: but there is also the bare possibility that it may originally have been *Ῥαμιήλ*, the angel who in 2 Bar. lv. 3 is sent to Baruch, and is described as "Ramiel qui praeest uisionibus ueritatis." He appears in Enoch xx. 7 (2nd Greek text) as *Ῥεμειήλ* (cf. also 4 Esd. iv. 36, where the MS M reads "Remihel"): this would agree well with 4 Bar. xi., where Baruch's angel is greeted as *ὁ τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις διερμηνεύων τοῖς καλῶς τὸν βίον διερχομένοις.*

Baruch's inquiries as to the dimensions of the first heaven find a parallel in *Apoc. Pauli* 32, where Paul is told of the depth of the abyss.

Δεῦρο καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι μείζονα μυστήρια. Cf. *Paul.* 40 Sequere me et uidebis orum maiora septies.

No parallel to the stories in cc. ii. and iii. about the builders of the Tower of Babel is known to me, save one in the book Yaschar.

Testament of Levi.	Slavonic Enoch.	Ascension of Isaiah.		4 Baruch.
		Firmament. Sammael and his Angels.		
First Heaven. Dark and gloomy.	*First Heaven.* Rulers of stars. Treasuries of ice, clouds etc.	*First* to *sixth Heaven.* Angels, increasing in glory in each successive heaven, praising God.		*First Heaven.* A plain. The builders of the tower of Babel.
Second. Contains fire, snow, ice: is the abode of avenging spirits.	*Second.* Spirits imprisoned.			*Second.* A plain. The planners of the tower of Babel.
Third. The hosts of the camps, who are to fight Beliar.	*Third.* The garden of Paradise. Hell on the North.		*Apoc. Mosis* § 40 (not in the best MS) places Paradise in the third heaven.	[*Third.*] A great Serpent: Hades. The Sun and Moon.
Fourth. Thrones and powers.	*Fourth.* The Sun and Moon. Armed angels praising God.			[*Fourth.*] A Lake. Birds singing.
Fifth. Angels who bear answers to (read *from* with the Oxford MS) the Angels of the Presence.	*Fifth* (*Text A*). The watchers, who are silent and sad. (*Text B.*) Great hosts.		*Apoc. Sophoniae ap. Clem. Alex.* places angels called κύριοι in the fifth heaven.	*Fifth.* Michael receiving prayers from Angels.
Sixth. The Angels of the Presence.	*Sixth.* Seven hosts of Angels who guard creation.			
Seventh. The Glory of God.	*Seventh.* The highest Angels, and God.	*Seventh Heaven.* The Glory of God.		
	[Text A adds an eighth, ninth, and tenth Heaven.]			

There are two agreements traceable in Baruch with two of the other documents. He seems to place Hades in the third heaven, and the Slavonic Enoch places Hell there: and he places the reception of prayers and the answers thereto in the fifth heaven, as does the Testament of Levi.

I quote from Drach's translation in Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes* ii. 1107, 1108: "Lorsqu'une brique s'échappait de la main de l'un d'eux et se brisait, tous en pleuraient: mais quand un homme tombait et se tuait, nul n'y faisait attention." There were three classes of builders: one said "Let us ascend and fight against heaven": the second "Let us go up and set our gods in heaven": the third "Let us go up and smite the heaven with our bows and arrows." They were punished in different ways. The second class were changed into monkeys and baboons: the third slew each other: the first were dispersed. In this account we have two features resembling Baruch. One, the tyranny and hard-heartedness of the builders: the other, their being changed into beast-like forms. There seem moreover to be traces of a division into classes in Baruch.

In c. iv. there seems to be an entry into another heaven, and this must be the third heaven: but the words which definitely said so have dropped out, and when, in c. x., the next heaven is entered, the scribe has changed its number from fourth to third. Such at least seems to be the history of the passage: and it is confirmed by the fact that in c. xi. we hear of the fifth heaven, the fourth being nowhere mentioned in the text of the MS. Some difficulty is caused by a passage in c. vii. The angel says to Baruch, "All that I have shewed thee is in the first and second heaven: and in the third heaven the sun passes through, and gives light to the world." At that point, then, they are clearly in the third heaven: but the words leave obscure the moment at which the transition takes place. I think it probable that it is in c. iv. The Slavonic does not mention any heaven after the second.

The contents of cc. iv. v. are rather confused. First, Baruch sees a plain (as in the first, second, and fourth heavens), and in the plain is a dragon or serpent of 200 plethra in length (I adopt Professor Robinson's emendation of the text). Hades is also seen: and from c. v. we gather that Hades is the belly of the dragon, and that it is as great as the distance to which a plummet, or bullet, 'of 300 men' can be thrown. In this last image there is a confusion. Possibly the idea in the writer's mind is like that in

Paul. 32 "ita est ut si forte (*l.* fortis) aliquis accipiat lapidem et mittat in puteum ualde profundum et post multarum orarum perueniat ad terram, sic est abyssus." Further, it is not in the least clear whether the dragon and Hades are two creatures or one. From c. iv. we should gather them to be separate: from c. v. to be united in some way.

The Slavonic version is more explicit, at least in the first part of its description. In it the prophet sees a plain with a mountain, on which lies a serpent as long as from East to West. This serpent drinks a cubit of the sea every day and eats the earth like chopped hay (*καλάμη*): cf. Exod. xv. 7 *κατέφαγεν αὐτοὺς ὡς καλάμην.* Its function with regard to the sea is rather more clearly explained: it drinks its daily cubit to prevent the sea from overflowing, which it would naturally do because of the 330 (not 360) rivers which flow into it. Nine of the rivers (the Greek has three) are named: the third, which in Greek is *Γηρικός*, appears here as Agorenik. The mention of the Danube may probably be original with the Slavonic translator: the other names, with the exception of Euphrates and Tigris, I do not recognise.

In what follows, the Slavonic seems to preserve a better order than the Greek. The question about the capacity of the serpent's stomach precedes, instead of following, the episode of the vine. There is no mention of Hades as being *seen* by Baruch.

The dragon drinks a cubit's depth from the sea (every day?), and yet the sea does not sink, because of the 360 rivers which flow into it, of which the greatest are Alphias, Abyrus and Gericus (names which I cannot explain, unless the last be meant for *γυρικός*, which might mean the Ocean surrounding the earth). This dragon cannot be Satan. He is rather to be compared with the great fish Jasconius in St Brandan's voyage, who surrounds the earth and is continually trying to get his tail into his mouth, and causes earthquakes by his efforts. This creature is also mentioned in *Acta Thomae* (Bonnet, p. 24, *συγγενὴς δέ εἰμι ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ὄντος οὗ ἡ οὐρὰ ἔγκειται τῷ ἰδίῳ στόματι*): cf. also the Bardesanian Hymn as rendered by Lipsius, "the Pearl which is in the midst of the sea surrounded by the loud-hissing

serpent[1]." A more helpful passage, however, is that in the *Pistis Sophia*, p. 319, which says "caligo externa magnus δρακων est, cuius cauda in suo ore, est extra κοσμον totum, et circumdat κοσμον totum." Now this dragon is said to have within him twelve places of chastisement, where souls are tormented: and herein he somewhat resembles Baruch's dragon, who devours the bodies of the wicked, and is obscurely but expressly connected with Hades. It is rather difficult to see what position geographically our dragon is supposed to occupy. He is in one of the heavens, and at the same time has constant access to the sea. I do not feel sure that he is not connected with the constellation of the Dragon, of which the Peratae and the "Astrotheosophi" of Hippolytus had a good deal to say. But as far as we have gone, there seems to be a nearer approach to the dragon of the *Pistis Sophia* than to any other.

Of Baruch's Hades, as I said, it is impossible to get any clear notion. The words τίς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής may give a clue, if we may take them to be corrupt and think of the dragon as encircling Hades, and not of Hades as encircling the dragon. They would then give us a figure like that of the Mithraic "Aion," the personification of Time, who is lion-headed, and winged, and has a great serpent coiled about him (see a statue from Ostia figured in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* s.v. *Aeon*). This, however, is a pure guess. In the *Itinerarium Theophili* (Vassiliev, p. 144), the travelling monks see a woman with a δράκων μέγας ἐνειλημένος ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῆς.

With the function of the dragon, who consumes the bodies of bad people, we may compare that of the Greek goblin Eurynomus, whose picture by Polygnotus Pausanias saw in the Lesche at Delphi.

The extremely abrupt transition from the subject of the dragon to that of the forbidden fruit in c. iv. may probably indicate an interpolation extending to the end of the chapter: in v. the dialogue reverts to the dragon. It is somewhat remarkable that markedly Christian phrases occur in this episode and not again until the last episode in the book. Still, I think it is also likely that some matter may have dropped out in c. iv. At the critical

[1] See Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgeschichten*, i. 293.

point we are being told about the rivers: and there may well have been a question and answer about Paradise and its rivers at this juncture: for note that in Slav. Enoch and *Apoc. Mosis* Paradise is placed in the third heaven, where Baruch and his companion now are. And if this topic were once introduced, what could be simpler than the transition to the subject of the forbidden fruit? I rather prefer this conjecture, because it seems to me that the episode of the Vine is inconsistent with itself; and I do not care to embark on a theory of one interpolation within another. I say that the episode is inconsistent with itself, because it begins and ends with the intention of vilifying the vine altogether, and yet inserts a glorification of it in the middle, because of its use in the Eucharist. My notion is that Baruch's question "Why, if the vine is cursed, is it so much in use?" begins the interpolated passage, which ends with the words *τὴν εἰς παράδεισον εἴσοδον*. It is something in favour of this, that in my supposed insertion the word *κλῆμα* is used instead of *ἄμπελος*.

The view of the vine enunciated in the first part of the episode is that Samael or Satan planted it, and that on that account God forbade Adam to touch it. This is quite new to me. Certain Jewish scholars (e.g. R. Jehuda in the Midrash on Genesis) held that the forbidden fruit was the vine[1]; and it is a common story that the devil helped Noah to plant the vine after the Flood: but I have not found anywhere the story told in this book. *Σαρασαὴλ* may be the angel Saraqael of Enoch xx., where the Greek has *Σαριήλ*.

τὸ πικρὸν τούτου μεταβληθήσεται εἰς γλυκύ. Cf. 3 Bar. ix. 16 *τὰ γλυκέα ὕδατα ἁλμυρὰ γενήσονται* (*Aeth. καὶ τὰ ἁλμυρὰ γλυκέα γενήσονται*).

αἷμα θεοῦ. Cf. Acts xx. 28.

τὴν ἄνω κλῆσιν. Phil. iii. 14 *τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν* X. 'I.

πᾶν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δι' αὐτοῦ <οὐ> γίνεται. I see no way but to insert a negative here, though I am well aware that it is a strong measure.

ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφόν,...πατὴρ υἱόν,...τέκνα γονεῖς. In Mc. xiii. 12 we have the pairs *ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφόν, πατὴρ τέκνον, τέκνα γονεῖς*.

[1] So also the Greek *Palaea*, Vassiliev, p. 190.

The list of sins finds its nearest parallel in Mt. xv. 19 *φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, βλασφημίαι,* and in Gal. v. 21 after a similar list, which includes *μέθαι,* is the clause *καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις.* These passages must be taken in connexion with the *Didache* iii. *φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ...*Ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων *φόνοι...μοιχεῖαι...εἰδωλολατρεία...κλοπαὶ...βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται.* v. (Ἡ *τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς*) *φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, κ.τ.λ.* In *Test. Isaac* (Texts and Studies, ii. 2. 146) we have the precept: "Beware of these sins and what resembles them." Whether interpolated or not, it seems that this section of Baruch must be Christian.

cc. vi.—ix. contain what the Book of Enoch calls "Celestial Physics," and it is in this section that we find the most curious part of the book, and the most interesting parallels to other literature.

The chariot-and-four of the sun, fiery, with the sun in human form crowned and seated upon it, is a conception most familiar to us from Greek monuments: the pediment of the Parthenon is perhaps the best-known instance. But it is also a Hindu notion. Vishnu the sun has a charioteer Aruna (the dawn), and elsewhere rides on a monstrous bird, half-human, who is the brother of Aruna and is called Garuda (or Garutmat). I mention this in view of certain facts soon to be brought forward. In Apocryphal literature the sun's chariot does not often appear: but it does appear in Enoch: (lxxii. 5) "the chariots on which he ascends are driven by the wind": lxxiii. 2 of the moon: lxxv. 3, 8 (of the stars): and, in a form closely resembling that in 4 Baruch we find it in the Slavonic Enoch. I will at once quote the passages from the fuller text (A), as it can be gathered from Mr Charles's and Professor Bonwetsch's editions, and will ask my readers to compare them with the shorter text (B) which is printed separately by Professor Bonwetsch.

c. xi. And the men took me and conducted me to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the comings and goings forth and all the rays of the light of the sun and moon. And I measured their goings, and computed their light. And I saw that the sun has a light greater than the moon. I beheld his circle, and his chariot on which they go always like a wind advancing with astonishing swiftness, and he has no rest day or night coming or going.

There are four great stars; each star has under it a thousand stars at the right of the chariot of the sun; and four at the left, each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight thousand. Fifteen thousand angels go out with the sun and attend him during the day, and by night one thousand. There go forth with the angels before the chariot of the sun *angels* with six wings in a flame of fire. And a hundred angels kindle and light up the sun.

c. xii. And I looked and saw other flying creatures, their names Phoenixes and Chalkadri, wonderful and strange in appearance, with the feet and tails of lions, and the heads of crocodiles; their appearance was of a purple colour, like the rainbow; their size nine hundred measures. Their wings were like those of angels, each with twelve, and they attend (the chariot of the sun), and go with him, bringing heat and dew as they are ordered by God. So the sun makes his revolutions, and goes and proceeds under the heavens, and goes under the earth with the light of his beams unceasingly.

c. xiv. 2. So also he sets at the Western gates: under the earth he lays aside his light, the greatness of his splendour, while the crown of his brightness is in heaven before the Lord, and is watched by four hundred angels.... And when he comes near to the East in the eighth hour of the night they bring his light to him, and the crown of his brightness, and the sun burns again more brightly than fire.

c. xv. Then sang the creatures of the sun, called the Phoenixes and the Chalkadri. On this account every bird claps its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they sang a song at the command of the Lord. The giver of light comes to give his brightness to the whole world.

The existence of a connexion between Slav. Enoch A and 4 Baruch is thus assured: it is especially clear in the account of the Phoenix. But it will be noticed that the resemblances to text B of the Slav. Enoch are far less striking. There the only points of contact are (1) the chariot accompanied by angels, (2) the removal of the crown of the sun: there is no Phoenix.

Let us for a short time turn our attention to the Phoenix of Baruch and the Phoenixes and Chalkadri of Slav. Enoch A. What is a Chalkadry? We find mention of a creature which must be the same in a very late document printed by Vassiliev in *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (p. 184). It is a dispute between a certain *παναγιώτης Κωνσταντῖνος*, who is an orthodox Greek, and an *ἀζυμίτης*, who is a Roman Cardinal (*γαρδυνάλις*); and it purports to have taken place in the time of Michael Palaeologus (†1282) about the time of the Council of Lyons in 1274.

The questions canvassed are partly riddles, partly cosmical problems, partly the points of dispute between the Greek and Latin Churches. The passage which concerns us is as follows. After the Panagiote has stated that the heaven has twelve pillars, twelve gates (as in Slav. Enoch AB xiii. xiv.) and twelve chambers, the Cardinal says:

Εἰπέ μοι τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν δρόμον, πῶς ἀνατέλλει ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ (ὑ)πάγει ἐν τῇ δύσει καὶ πάλιν εὑρίσκεται ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ; ὁ παναγιώτης λέγει·...Ὁ ἥλιος ἀνάπλαστος ἔνι κ. ἀνθρωπόσαρκος κ. ἀνθρωπομίμητος, καὶ ὁδηγοῦσιν αὐτὸν τὴν ἡμέραν [*καὶ*] *δεκαπέντε χιλιάδες ἄγγελοι* (so Slav. En. xi. 4)*...τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἄγγελοί τῳ δίδωσιν ὡς οἱ λαμπτῆρες τῶν ἀκτίνων...ὅταν βασιλεύῃ ὁ ἥλιος, ἐκδύουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ παραδίδουσιν τὰς θείας στολὰς αὐτοῦ τὸν ζωοδότην μου Χριστόν,* and the sun goes to the sea on the West*...ὁ ἀζυμίτης εἶπεν· καὶ ὁ ἥλιος πῶς ἀνατέλλει; ὁ παναγ. εἶπεν· Ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τ. ζῶντος δίδει τὸ στέμμα τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐνδύουσι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ἀνατέλλει· καὶ εὐθὺς δύο ὄρνεα καλούμενα γρύψι, τὸ ἓν καλεῖται φίριξ* (= *φοῖνιξ*)*, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον χαλέδρις ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα, καὶ βρέχουσιν τὸν ἥλιον ἵνα μὴ καύσῃ τὸν κόσμον· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καίονται αἱ πτέρυγες τῶν ὀρνέων καὶ ἀπομένουσιν μόνον τὰ κρέη· καὶ πάλιν ὑπάγουσιν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ λούονται καὶ πάλιν πτεροῦνται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὀρνέων ἐπαίρνουσιν μίμησιν οἱ ἀλέκτορες, καὶ ὀνομάζονται καὶ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν.* He goes on to say that cocks have a certain vein under their wings which tickles them and makes them crow. *Ὁ ἀζυμίτης λέγει· Καὶ τί λέγουσιν; Ὁ παναγ. λέγει· Ὁ εἷς λέγει· Πορεύου. ὁ ἕτερος· Φωτοδότα. ὁ τρίτος· Δὸς τὸ φῶς. ὁ τέταρτος· Τὸν κόσμον.*

Here is an account which unites 4 Baruch and the Slavonic Enoch. From the latter we get the twelve gates of heaven, the 15,000 angels, and the two creatures, Phoenix and Chaledris; from the former we have the functions of the two birds, their size, and the effect of the sun's heat upon them. Common to both are the removal of the sun's crown and the connexion of the Phoenix with the cock crowing. It is evident that in Slav. Enoch xv. 1, "every bird" must be a rendering of *πᾶν ὄρνεον* in the limited sense of "every fowl" (i.e. domestic fowl): and that xv. 2 gives the words of the song which the cocks are supposed to sing

But we have digressed from the Chalkadry. It is plain enough that χαλέδριος is the same as Chalkadry. Among known names of birds it comes nearest to χαραδριός: but I cannot find that any connexion between the Charadrius and the sun was ever believed to exist. It seems to me just possible that the Garŭdā, the bird on which Vishnu rides, may be at the bottom of the difficulty.

Professor Cowell has been so kind as to give me references to the principal sources of information about the Garuda. The longest account of him seems to be in the Mahabharata Adi Parva §§ xvi—xxxiv.; and in § xxiv. we read that Garuda carried Aruna on his back and placed him in front of the sun to act as his charioteer and prevent him from consuming the world by his heat. Moreover Garuda is of monstrous form, half man, half bird; and the Chalkadry is also a compound being. I do not know whether the words χαλέδριος and Garuda can be legitimately connected together: but certainly there is a superficial resemblance in their names, nature and functions. And there I must leave the question.

Baruch's Phoenix (and, for that matter, the Phoenix of the Slavonic Enoch also) differs widely in his functions from the creature described by other writers. In the poem *De Phoenice* ascribed to Claudian some stress is laid on the connexion of the bird with the sun, to whom he sings a hymn when about to die: and in Horapollo he is an emblem of the sun; but I cannot find that he appears anywhere as the sun's daily companion. The only point of contact between Baruch and other accounts is in the mention of the worm produced by the bird, which in its turn produces cinnamon. But the connexion is remote in this case. Usually the worm is left on the pyre which the Phoenix builds out of fragrant woods and spices, and the worm develops into the new Phoenix. We have a different tradition to deal with, and one which I have not found save in the three documents 4 Baruch, Slav. Enoch, and the Disputation of the Panagiote.

vi. Καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἱστάμεθα: cf. Acts iv. 31 ἐσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι. 4 Esdr. vi. 29 mouebatur locus super quem stabam super eum.

"Now are the angels opening the 365 gates of heaven." This more or less agrees with the Ethiopic Enoch, in which the Heaven has twelve main portals (as in Slav. Enoch), and within each of these, apparently, some thirty smaller openings. In the fragments of the Apocalypse of Adam (*Apocr. Anecd.* 1st ser. 144) the following is the description of the eleventh (Syr. tenth) hour of the night.

ὥρα ια', ἐν ᾗ ἀνοίγονται αἱ πύλαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐν κατανύξει γενόμενος εὐήκοος γενήσεται· ἐν ταύτῃ πέτονται ταῖς πτέρυξιν σὺν ἤχῳ οἱ ἄγγελοι κ. χερουβὶμ κ. σεραφίμ· καί ἐστιν χαρὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ· ἀνατέλλει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐξ Ἐδέμ.

Compare with this 4 Bar. xii. sqq.

ὡς γὰρ τὰ δίστομα. I am inclined to believe that this puzzling phrase may mean, "For as articulate-speaking beings do, so do the cocks signify to those in the world in their own speech." But I have not found such an usage of *δίστομος* as would confirm this: and it is very likely that the word is corrupt.

viii. The notion of the sun's being defiled by beholding the wickedness of man has two or three good parallels. *Test. Levi* 3, The lowest heaven is dark *ἐπειδὴ οὗτος ὁρᾷ πάσας ἀδικίας ἀνθρώπων*: *Apoc. Esdrae* p. 29 *ὁ οὐρανὸς τί ἥμαρτεν; ἐπειδὴ <ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν> ἐστιν τὸ κακόν*: *Apoc. Pauli* 4 (Lat.) Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellauit dominum, dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum.

The list of vices which follows coincides with those in Mt. xv. 19 and Gal. v. 21; and in *Apoc. Pauli* 6 there is a similar list "fornicationes adulteria homicidia furta periuria magia maleficia."

There are three such lists in 4 Baruch, the last being in c. xiii.: and they go further than any other single point to show that the book is a homogeneous whole. It will be worth while, I think, to tabulate them in this place.

			xiii. *φόνος*
iv. *φόνοι* Mt. Gal. Did. Paul		viii. *πορν.*	*πορν.*
μοιχεῖαι Mt. Did. Paul		*μοιχ.*	*μοιχ.*
πορνεῖαι Mt. Gal. Did. Paul		*κλοπ.*	*κλεψίαι*
		ἁρπαγαί	*καταλαλ.*
ἐπιορκεῖαι Paul		*εἰδωλολατρεῖαι* Gal. Did.	*ἐπιορκ.*
κλοπαί Mt. Did. Paul		*μέθαι* Gal.	*φθόνοι* Gal.
		φόνοι (l. *φθόνοι*)	*μέθαι*
		ἔρεις Gal 2 Co. xii. 20	*ἔρεις*
		ζήλη Gal. 2 Co.	*ζῆλος*
		καταλαλίαι 2 Co.	*γογγ.*
		γογγυσμοί Phil. ii. 14	*ψιθυρ.*
		ψιθυρισμοί 2 Co.	*εἰδωλολατρισμός*
		μαντεῖαι Paul	*μαντεία*

The dependence of the author on the Pauline Epistles is the most marked feature in these passages.

οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα πνοή. Cf. Mt. xxiv. 22, Mc. xiii. 20 *οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ.* In the next chapter occurs another phrase from the immediate neighbourhood of this, viz. *ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας*, which occurs in Mc. xiii. 20 (in Mt. it is varied): but the application of the words in 4 Baruch is very different from that in the Gospel.

ix. The moon is drawn in her car by oxen and lambs. This is a Greek idea. Suidas s. v. *ταυροπόλος* says that the moon is drawn by kine: and so she is sometimes represented, e.g. in Gerhard *Antik. Bilder*, pl. 61.

With the statement that the moon cannot shine before the sun, cf. *Apoc. Mosis* 36 *οὐ δύνανται φαίνειν ἐνώπιον τοῦ φωτὸς τῶν ὅλων* (v. l. *πατρὸς τῶν φώτων*).

I do not find elsewhere the explanation which Baruch gives of the humiliation of the moon. The Slavonic differs in this place, saying that the reason of the moon's punishment was that she laughed at Adam's fall.

x. The lake in the fourth heaven is probably to be identified

with the Ἀχέρουσα λίμνη which we find in *Apoc. Mosis* 37 and in *Apoc. Pauli* 22. The birds, I am inclined to think, are the souls of the righteous, though this is not quite clear from the text. However, that souls were represented as birds is certain. The Disputation of the Panagiote, already quoted, says (p. 181) ὡσεὶ περιστεραί εἰσιν τῶν δικαίων αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ Λέξις λέγει Ὡς τρυγῶναί εἰσιν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον. In St Brandan's voyage there is an island where righteous souls dwell in the form of birds. In the MSS of Beatus's Commentary on the Apocalypse souls are pictured as birds, and also in some Psalters of the xiith century, e.g. an English one at Hildesheim[1].

xi. The function of Michael as doorkeeper of the gates of heaven occurs, as we have seen, in the Prayer of Jeremiah in 3 Bar. The opening of heaven's gates at a particular hour to receive the prayers of the righteous occurs in the Syriac fragments of the Testament or Apocalypse of Adam (see *Apocr. Anecd.* 1st series, p. 143):

"Tenth hour (of the night): Adoration of men: the gate of heaven opens in order to let in thereby the prayers of every living thing."

In the corresponding Greek we have at the eleventh hour (the tenth being accidentally omitted): ὥρα ια', ἐν ᾗ ἀνοίγονται αἱ πύλαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cited above).

The notion of the golden vial to contain the prayers and works of the saints is taken from Rev. v. 8 φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων, αἵ (*or* ἅ) εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων. Compare also viii. 3 where an angel offers the prayers on the golden altar out of a golden censer with much incense.

xii. For the angels who carry baskets of flowers, we must compare 4 Esdr. i. 40 (Spanish text: see Bensly and James, *Fourth Book of Esdras*, p. 85) angelos duodecim cum floribus.

But the nearest parallel to the whole of this episode in 4 Baruch is to be found in the Apocalypse of Paul, §§ 7—10.

First, it is there said that the adoration of the angels takes place at a particular time, that of sunset, and that there they offer

[1] See Ad. Goldschmidt *Der Albani Psalter in Hildesheim* 1895, p. 59 and Pl. vii.

the works of men, good or evil, to God. The Latin version adds that this is done also at the twelfth hour of the night.

The Greek then gives an account of the coming of three classes of angels, two joyful, the third dejected. The first are the guardians of the εὐσεβεῖς ἄνδρες, the second of the ascetics, the third of the worldly; and this latter class desires to be relieved of its charge, but the request is not granted. The Latin and Syriac omit the first of these three classes.

This episode is most likely not original with the Apocalypse of Paul. As has been often said, that book is a *pasticcio* of rather late date. Neither does it seem likely to be original with Baruch: for this portion of Baruch is full of Bible quotations, and contains late expressions, such as πνευματικοὶ πατέρες, and also ends in a very abrupt manner. In other words, it reads as if it had been rather modernised. The Slavonic Baruch rather complicates the question: for, after the wicked have been denounced, it goes on: 'The angel said to me: "Look, servant of God, and see the resting-place of the righteous and their glory and joy and delight: and again see the resting-place of the wicked." ... And I said: "Who are these, my Lord?" And the angel said to me: "These are the sinners." And I said to the angel: "Bid me, my Lord, that I may weep with them, so that the Lord may hear my voice and pity them."' At this point a voice is heard commanding that Baruch should be taken back to the earth, as in the Greek. The curious thing about this is that in the *Apoc. Pauli*, after the end of § 10, where the daily report of the angels to God is described, we have:

Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Sequere me et ostendam tibi locum iustorum ubi ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint, et post hec adsumens te in abyssum ostendam tibi animas peccatorum, in qualem locum ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint.

What immediately follows is not a vision of the places of good and bad souls; that does not appear till § 19. Instead of it there is a description of the death and judgment of various souls.

It is pretty clear that we do not possess the end of this Apocalypse of Baruch in its original form. It is not so clear what exactly has been the process which it has undergone. Has it been altered into conformity with the Apocalypse of Paul? or has the

last-named book borrowed an episode from it? or, lastly, have both books been using an older authority in this episode? I do not think that we can answer these questions at all definitely. What we do seem to have ascertained about the book is this: that it was known to Origen,—this being our *terminus ad quem* in assigning a date to it; that it makes use of the Pauline Epistles, the Ethiopic and Slavonic books of Enoch, of the Apocalypse of Adam, and of the Rest of the Words of Baruch (3 Baruch)—the latest of these books being assignable to A.D. 136; while in mediaeval times (cent. xiii.) it may have been used by the author of the *Disputatio Panagiotae*, and at some unknown date it was translated into Slavonic; while it also seems possible that the writer of the Apocalypse of Paul was indebted to it for one episode. Our book is, in fact, a Christian Apocalypse of the second century.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOB.

THE Testament of Job is not an inedited work. It was printed by Mai in the seventh volume of the *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* (Rome, 1833, Pt. I. p. 180), presumably from a Vatican MS. But what MS this was I have been so far unable to discover:—Mai's only preface consists of the following words. "Iobi testamentum, scriptum sane apocryphum, sed ualde antiquum, quoniam in Gelasiano decreto appellatur."

Considering its interest, the book has attracted extremely little attention. It is possible that some essay on it may exist in German, but if so it has escaped my notice. The only translation of it which I have seen is a French one in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, II. 403. It is doubtless from this source that Mr Baring Gould draws the particulars which he gives in his *Legends of Old Testament Characters*. There are, besides, bare mentions of the book in a few Dictionary articles; but speaking broadly, I think we may say that the Testament of Job is practically an unknown book.

I had, therefore, long wished to reprint it in a convenient and accessible form; but it did not seem the proper thing to repeat Mai's often defective text, and add nothing in the way of new critical material. However, in 1890 I was able to examine a MS of the Testament at Paris. I collated it with Mai, and in 1895 my friend Mr A. E. Brooke did me the great kindness to go over my text with the MS once more. I now print the text of the Paris MS, and add the variants of Mai at the bottom of the page. In doing this, I have taken the occasion to print in spaced type those variants which seem especially noteworthy.

The MS is no. 2658 (Fonds grec), on vellum, a small quarto book of 224 leaves, in a fine hand of the xith century. It contains:

1. Interpretationes nominum Hebraicorum f. 1 *inc.* Ἀδὰμ *μαρτυρία.*
2. Testamenta xii patriarcharum f. 1 *b.*

The text has, I understand, been collated by Dr Sinker, but no full collation has appeared in print. It was known to Richard Simon. Readings from it, quoted by him, are printed in Migne's *Patres Apostolici.* I collated a great part of it myself.

3. Testamentum Iobi f. 72.
4. Anastasii Sinaitae quaestiones et responsiones f. 98.

This item seems to be in an earlier hand. It is imperfect at the end.

There is another MS of the Testament at Paris, no. 938 (f. 172), of cent. xvi. But this is merely a copy of 2658. It is preceded by the Testaments of the Patriarchs, and these by the *Interpretationes nominum.*

Ancient testimonies and quotations.

I am only able to point to one actual mention of the book in ancient times. The Gelasian Decree condemns it as

"Liber qui appellatur Testamentum Iob, apocryphus,"

and places it between the *Liber Ogiae* (Book of Og) and the *Poenitentia Origenis.* Fabricius preferred an alternative reading, "*Testamentum Iacobi*"; he would not have done so, had he known of the existence of our book.

There is of course no trace of a Latin version of this Testament now: but that is the case with a large number of the books mentioned in the Decree. The one really interesting and important matter connected with the ancient history of the book is its connexion with the LXX version of Job. It is well known that in the second chapter of Job, and also at the end of the whole book, certain additions are found in the LXX version. It will be interesting to examine these in the light of their relation to the Testament of Job. We will take first the insertion in c. ii.

Job		
ii 9	χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ προβεβηκότος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ·	*Test. Job* xxiv.
	Μέχρι τίνος καρτερήσεις λέγων	Ἰώβ, Ἰώβ, ἄχρι (v. l. μέχρι) τίνος καθέζῃ ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως λογιζόμενος ἔτι μικρόν, καὶ ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας σου; καὶ ἐγὼ πλανῆτις καὶ λάτρις τόπον ἐκ τόπου περιερχομένη.
9a	Ἰδοὺ ἀναμένω[1] χρόνον ἔτι μικρὸν προσδεχόμενος τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας μου;	
9b	ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἠφάνισταί σου τὸ μνημόσυνον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς,	διὸ ἀπώλετο ἀπὸ γῆς τὸ μνημόσυνόν σου, οἱ υἱοί μου καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες τῆς (om. M) ἐμῆς κοιλίας (+ καὶ πόνοι καὶ ὠδῖναι M) οὓς εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα μετὰ μόχθων· σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς κάθῃ ἐν σαπρίᾳ σκωλήκων διανυκτερεύων αἴθριος κ.τ.λ.
	υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐμῆς κοιλίας ὠδῖνες καὶ πόνοι,	
	οὓς εἰς τὸ κενὸν ἐκοπίασα μετὰ μόχθων.	
9c	σύ τε αὐτὸς ἐν σαπρίᾳ σκωλήκων (cf. vii. 5) κάθησαι διανυκτερεύων αἴθριος·	
9d	κἀγὼ πλανωμένη[2] καὶ λάτρις τόπον ἐκ τόπου[3] καὶ οἶκον ἐξ οἰκίας[4], προσδεχομένη τὸν ἥλιον πότε δύσεται, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωμαι τῶν μόχθων μου καὶ τῶν ὀδυνῶν αἵ με νῦν συνέχουσιν.	

[1] om. ℵ* [2] πλανῆτις ℵc.a A [3] +περιερχομένη A [4] +περιερχομένη ℵc.a

The substantial identity of the two passages is undeniable. But it is not immediately clear whether the LXX has here influenced the Testament, or the Testament the LXX. It becomes important in the first place to ascertain what is the general relation of the Testament to the Canonical book in respect of quotations from it. The following is a table of the quotations:

Job	
i 1 ἄμεμπτος	*Test. Job.* Title in Mai διαθήκη τοῦ ἀμέμπτου κ.τ.λ.

Job		
i 2	*υἱοὶ ἑπτὰ κ. θυγατέρες τρεῖς*	c. i.
3	*πρόβατα ἑπτακισχίλια*	ix.
	κάμηλοι τρισχίλιαι	ix.
	ζεύγη βοῶν πεντακόσια	x.
	ὄνοι θήλειαι νομάδες πεντακόσιαι	ix.
	ὑπηρεσία πολλή.	x. *sub fin.*, xi. etc.
	ἦν εὐγενὴς τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν	xxviii. *εὐγενέστερος γὰρ ἦμην κ.τ.λ.*
4	*ἐποιοῦσαν πότον*	xv. *καὶ ἐποίουν πότον* M.
	συμπαραλαμβάνοντες ἅμα καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἀδελφὰς αὐτῶν	xv. *συμπαρ. κ. τ. τρ. αὐτ. ἀδ.*
5	*ἀνιστάμενος τὸ πρωὶ...προσέφερεν περὶ αὐτῶν θυσίαν (θυσίας* A) *κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μόσχον ἕνα περὶ ἁμαρτίας περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῷν. ἔλεγεν γὰρ Ἰώβ Μή ποτε οἱ υἱοί μου ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ (καρδίᾳ* A) *αὐτῶν κακὰ ἐνενόησαν πρὸς θεόν.*	xv. *ἀνιστάμενος οὖν ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸ πρωὶ ἀνέφερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θυσίας κατὰ ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν...καὶ πάλιν ἐξαίρετον μόσχον ἀνέφερον ... μήπως (μήποτε* M) *οἱ υἱοί μου ἐνενοήσαντο κακὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*
8	*θεράποντός* (A, *παιδός* B) *μου Ἰώβ*	
18	*παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτῶν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ*	xv. *init. εἰσήρχοντο παρὰ κ.τ.λ.*
21	*ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν, ὁ κύριος ἀφείλατο·*	xix. *ὁ κύριος...οὕτω καὶ ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ.*
	ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ ἔδοξεν, οὕτως (A *οὕτω καὶ*) *ἐγένετο*	
	εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον	
ii 7	*ἔπαισεν τὸν Ἰὼβ ἕλκει πονηρῷ*	xx. *ἐπάταξέν με πληγὴν σκληρὰν*
	ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς	*ἀπὸ...κεφαλῆς*
8	*...ἰχῶρα...*	*ἰχῶρες τοῦ σώματος ἔρρεον*
	ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως	xx. xxi. xxix.
9	The lament of Job's wife: see above	xxiv.

Job		
ii 10	ὥσπερ μία τῶν ἀφρόνων γυναικῶν ἐλάλησας· εἰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐδεξάμεθα ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου, τὰ κακὰ οὐχ ὑποίσομεν;	xxvi.
11	ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ τρεῖς φίλοι κ.τ.λ.	xxviii. ἤκουσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς
	ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας	xxviii.
	Ἐλειφὰζ ὁ Θαιμανῶν βασιλεύς	xxviii. xxix.
	ἐπισκέψασθαι αὐτόν	xxviii.
12	ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν πόρρωθεν οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν	xxviii.
	κ. βοήσαντες φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἔκλαυσαν	xxviii. M.
	ῥήξαντες ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στολήν	xxviii. M.
	κ. καταπασάμενοι γῆν.	xxviii.
13	παρεκάθισαν αὐτῷ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας κ. ἑπτὰ νύκτας καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐλάλησεν.	xxviii. —
iv 10	γαυρίαμα	xxxiii. τὸ γαυρίαμα
v 22	ἀδίκων κ. ἀνόμων καταγελάσῃ	xxxii. ὁ καταγελάσας τῶν ἀδικούντων
vii 2	ὥσπερ μισθωτὸς ἀναμένων τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ	xii. ἀναμένων σου τὸν μισθόν.
5	ἐν σαπρίᾳ σκωλήκων...ἰχώρ.	
ix 32	ἵνα ἔλθωμεν ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰς κρίσιν	xliii. κρινεῖ ἡμᾶς ὁμοθ.
xviii 5	φῶς ἀσεβῶν σβεσθήσεται κ. οὐκ ἀποβήσεται αὐτῶν ἡ φλόξ	xliii.
6	τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ σκότος ἐν διαίτῃ ὁ δὲ λύχνος αὐτῷ σβεσθήσεται	
xx 14	χολὴ ἀσπίδος ἐν γαστρὶ αὐτοῦ	cf. xliii.
16	θυμὸν δρακόντων γλῶσσα ὄφεως	
xxi 12	ἀναλαβόντες ψαλτήριον κ. κιθάραν	xiv. εἶχον ἓξ ψαλμοὺς κ.... κιθάραν

Job		
xxi 12	καὶ εὐφραίνονται φωνῇ ψαλμοῦ (cf. xxx. 31)	xiv. ἀνελάμβανον τὸ ψαλτήριον
	ψαλμοῦ obelised in Jerome's LXX Job	
xxix 6	ὅτε ἐχέοντο αἱ ὁδοί μου βουτύρῳ	xiii. κ. τὸ βούτυρον διεχεῖτο ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου
	τὰ δὲ ὄρη μου ἐχέοντο γάλακτι	ὄρη ἐκλύζοντο γάλακτι (cf. M)
15	ὀφθαλμὸς ἤμην τυφλῶν	
16	πατὴρ ἀδυνάτων	liii.
xxx 1	οὓς οὐχ ἡγησάμην ἀξίους κυνῶν τῶν ἐμῶν νομάδων	xxi. M
	not in Jerome's LXX Job	
19	ἐν γῇ καὶ σποδῷ μου ἡ μερίς	xxxviii. ἔχοντες τὴν μερίδα ἐν γῇ κ. ἐν σποδῷ
xxxi 20	ἀπὸ δὲ κουρᾶς ἀμνῶν μου ἐθερμάνθησαν οἱ ὦμοι αὐτῶν	ix. εἰς ἔνδυσιν χηρῶν κ.τ.λ.
31	εἰ δὲ καὶ πολλάκις εἶπον αἱ θεράπαιναί μου·	xiii. *fin.*
	τίς ἂν δώῃ ἡμῖν τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ πλησθῆναι (ἐμπλησθῆναι A);	ἐμπλησθῆναι
	λίαν μου χρηστοῦ ὄντος	
32	ἡ δὲ θύρα μου παντὶ ἐλθόντι ἀνέῳκτο	ix. ἀνεῳγμεναι δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τέσσαρες θύραι τοῦ οἴκου μου·
34	εἰ δὲ κ. εἴασα ἀδύνατον ἐξελθεῖν θύραν μου κολπῷ κενῷ	x. κ. οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεπον ἐξελθεῖν τὴν θύραν...κενῷ.
35—37	συγγραφὴν δὲ ἣν εἶχον κατά τινος ἐπ' ὤμοις ἂν περιθέμενος στέφανον ἀνεγίνωσκον...ῥήξας αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκα οὐθὲν λαβὼν παρὰ χρεωφιλέτου (+ μου A)	xi. προέφερον αὐτοῖς τὸ χειρόγραφον, κ. ἀνεγίνωσκον, στέφανον ἐπιφερόμενος ἀφαιρήσεως λ....οὐδὲ ἐδεχόμην τι παρὰ τοῦ ὀφειλέτου μου.
xxxvi 2	Μεῖνόν με μικρὸν	xli. Μείνατέ με
xxxviii 1	Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι Ἐλιοὺν...εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ Ἰωβ	xlii. *init.*
6	διὰ λαίλαπος κ. νεφῶν	

Job		
xxxviii 3 f. and xl. 2	ζῶσαι ὥσπερ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀσφύν σου (cf. xii. 18)	xlvii.
17	πυλωροὶ δὲ ᾅδου	xliii. θυρωροὶ τῆς σκοτείας
xl 2	ἐρωτήσω δέ σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόκριναι	xlvii.
xlii 7	μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι τὸν κύριον... ταῦτα τῷ Ἰώβ, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος Ἐλειφὰς τῷ Θαιμανείτῃ· Ἥμαρτες σὺ καὶ οἱ φίλοι (δύο φ. ℵAC)· οὐ γὰρ ἐλαλήσατε ἐνώπιόν μου ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν ὥσπερ ὁ θεράπων μου Ἰώβ	xlii. μετὰ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν κύριον λαλοῦντά μοι εἶπεν πρ. Ἐλ....ἥμαρτες σὺ κ. οἱ δύο σου φίλοι· οὐ γὰρ λελαλήκατε ἀληθῶς κατὰ τοῦ θερ. μου Ἰώβ
8	εἰ μὴ γὰρ δι᾽ αὐτόν, ἀπώλεσα ἂν ὑμᾶς. οὐ γὰρ ἐλαλήσατε κατὰ τοῦ θεράποντός μου Ἰὼβ ἀληθές	xlii. εἰ μὴ...ὑμᾶς
10	ὁ δὲ κύριος...ἀφῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν	xlii.
	ἔδωκεν δὲ ὁ κύριος διπλᾶ ὅσα ἦν ἔμπροσθεν Ἰὼβ εἰς διπλασιασμόν.	xliv. πεποίηκέν με εἶναι ἐν τῷ διπλῷ
11	πάντες ὅσοι ἤδεισαν αὐτὸν ἐκ πρώτου	xliv. ὅσοι ἤδεισαν εὐποιεῖν
	φαγόντες δὲ καὶ πιόντες παρ᾽ αὐτῷ...	πεποιήκαμεν μεγάλας εὐωχίας
	ἔδωκεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἕκαστος ἀμνάδα μίαν καὶ τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦ	xliv.
12	ὁ δὲ κύριος εὐλόγησεν	
14	names of daughters	i. and xlvi. sqq.
15	καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθησαν κατὰ τὰς θυγατέρας Ἰὼβ βελτίους αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὑπ᾽ οὐρανόν	liii. M.
	ἔδωκεν δὲ αὐταῖς ὁ πατὴρ κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.	xlvi. ἤδη ὑμῖν ἔπεμψα κληρονομίαν κρείττονα τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν

Job		
xlii 16	ἔζησεν δὲ Ἰὼβ μετὰ τὴν πληγὴν ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα	
	τὰ δὲ πάντα ἔτη ἔζησεν διακόσια τεσσεράκοντα (+ ὀκτώ A)	cf. liii. M. σμη
	καὶ ἴδεν Ἰὼβ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ κ. τ. υἱοὺς τ. υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τετάρτην γενεάν.	cf. liii. M
17 *a*	γέγραπται δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι μεθ' ὧν ὁ κύριος ἀνίστησιν	iv. καὶ ἐγερθήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει (+ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον M). Also liii. M
17 *b*	προυπῆρχεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὄνομα Ἰωβάβ.	liii. M
17 *c*	ἐκ τῶν Ἡσαὺ υἱῶν υἱός	i. ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ἡσαύ.

This list of passages, which I hope is pretty complete, shows, what is natural enough, that the borrowings from the LXX are almost confined to the narrative portions of the Book of Job, and to those chapters which might be considered autobiographical (xxix., xxxi.). It shows also, incidentally, an agreement on the part of the Testament with the text of A as against that of B.

So far as I can judge, there is nothing to show decisively whether the writer had before him the longer "LXX" text of Job, as supplemented by Origen from Theodotion, or the shorter and true LXX text, for which our main authorities are the Sahidic version, and a Latin version by Jerome. One case does occur where a clause (xlii. 16 *καὶ ἴδεν Ἰὼβ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ*, etc.), which is asterisked in Jerome's LXX Job, appears in Mai's text: but the Paris MS does not support it.

The general absence of borrowings from the main part of the book is very marked, and suggests the question:—Why should the speech of Job's wife, itself an interpolation into the LXX text, have been specially selected for quotation in the Testament, which shows no similar quotation of equal length? It is at least possible (but I do not see how the point can be demonstrated) that this particular speech has been interpolated into the LXX from the Testament. And if that is the case, the Testament

must be a very early book. Further consideration must show whether this is likely or not.

There are few traces—almost none—of the use of the Testament in later documents. One passage in the Apocalypse of Paul is worth quoting in this connexion:

§ 50 (*Apocr. Anecd.* I. p. 41). Ego autem sum Job qui multum laboraui .xxx. annorum tempus ex ichore plagae (exi cuo; plaga *cod.*): et quidem inter inicia uulnera que exiebant de corpore meo erant sicut grana tritici. Tercia uero die facta sunt sicut pes asini; uermes autem qui cadebant quatuor digitos longitudinem: et apparuit mihi tercio diabolus <et> dicit mihi: Dic uerbum aliquid in dominum et morere. Ego dixi ad eum: Si sic est uoluntas dei ut permaneam in plaga omne tempus uite meae usque dum moriar, non quiescam benedicens dominum deum, et plus mercedem accipiam.

The Syriac (ap. Tischendorf) has: "I am Job who endured temptations from Satan. Thirty years he left me until I fell prostrated and smitten with evil boils. Worms swarmed upon me, and every one of them about three fingers. And Satan daily uttered threats over me saying: Curse thy God and die. And when he prompted my sons with me to come and comfort me, then Satan would say with their tongue: How much Job suffers these torments and the plague of boils. And every day he urged them to say to me, Blaspheme against the living God and die. But I yielded not to the device of the wicked one, but always said: The Lord gave, etc. It were better for me that I should remain under the scourge with which I was so much distressed all the days of my life, than that I should blaspheme against God."

It is chiefly the emphasis laid upon the worms which leads me to connect the above passage with the Testament of Job. But the knowledge of Apocryphal writings which is apparent throughout the Apocalypse must also be taken into account.

The Koran (xxi., xxxviii.) and the Arabic commentators thereupon quoted by Sale, have traditions about Job and his wife Rahma, and the temptations which the devil inflicted upon her. But they do not do more than remind us dimly of the similar situation in the Testament.

I suspected at one time that an Arabic version of the Testament existed in a MS at Trinity College, Dublin, which in *Catal. MSS. Angl. et Hibern.* 1697, is numbered (626) 486, and marked F. 2. It contains the story of Zosimas, a Life of Abraham, and the Apocalypse of Paul; and also a "Historia Iobi iusti." An application to my friend Professor J. H. Bernard, D.D., resulted in my obtaining an account of the tract, kindly made by Mr A. E. Johnston, of Trinity College, sufficient to show that it is not the Testament, but something more like a paraphrase of the Biblical story.

There is also a Slavonic "Life and Conversation of Job the Just," mentioned in Bonwetsch's list of Slavonic Apocrypha (ap. Harnack, *Altchristl. Litteratur* i. 915): but the opening words of it do not resemble those of the Testament.

In the Greek Menaea (May 6) it is said of Job that the Devil "went away from him ashamed," and that he lived after his plague 170 years, making his whole age 248. This agrees with Mai's text of the Testament, and with $\aleph^{corr}AC$ in Job xlii. In the Stichera for his day we find the epithets *πολύαθλος*, *ἄμεμπτος* applied to Job, as in the title in Mai, and in the first ode Satan is described as *γυμνῷ βιαίως προσπαλαίσας* (cf. c. xxvii.), and elsewhere of Job it is said, *τῶν ἰχώρων καταπαλαίσας*, where the plural *ἰχῶρες* may be paralleled from c. xx. However, in the matter of the title at least, the MS of the Testament is likely to have been influenced by the liturgical formula. It is probable that the book was preserved with a view to its being read on the feast of St Job.

The name of Dinah as that of Job's first wife is found in the Targum on Job (Walton's *Polyglott*, 1657) ii. 9. This is a point of connexion with the Testament. The Paris text clearly identifies her with Dinah, the daughter of Jacob (though that of Mai does not), and in so doing conflicts with another Jewish legend, which made Dinah the mother of Aseneth, Joseph's wife. But in the Testament she is Job's second wife, whereas in the Targum there is no mention of a change of wife at all.

The statement that the discussions between Job and his friends occupied twenty-seven days must (c. xli.), one would imagine, have a connexion with the Book of Job. Greek writers

(e.g. Cedrenus, p. 124, ed. Par.) give the number of dialogues as twenty-three: but if we simply count the speeches and resumption of speeches which are contained in chapters iii.—xlii., we arrive at twenty-seven. It is true that these carry us down to the end of the whole discussion, whereas, according to the Testament, we ought only to arrive at the beginning of Elihu's speech in the twenty-seven days. Nevertheless it is probable enough that the writer was following a rough traditional calculation as his authority for the statement.

Another kind of evidence must be cited before we leave this part of our subject. It is not very commonly that we can appeal in these discussions to monuments of ancient art. But I think we may fairly do so here. The patience of Job is one of the subjects early introduced into the cycle of Christian pictures and sculptures, as a reminder probably of the Resurrection of the body: and in some at least of the representations we have a coincidence with our Testament. To take one instance. On the fourth-century sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (see Bottari II. lxxviii.: Jameson and Eastlake, *Hist. of our Lord*, I. 13, etc.), Job is seen seated on the dunghill; one friend is in the background, in the centre; on the right Job's wife approaches, holding her garment to her nose, and extending towards him a cake of bread (divided into four by cross-lines) in a sort of long-handled spoon. Here we have stress laid on the extremely offensive character of Job's disease, and the δυσωδία it engendered; and also upon the idea that Job's wife brought him bread. Both these points are also emphasised in the Testament.

The Eastern Church has illustrated the Book of Job far more copiously than the Western. Catenas upon this book are very frequently adorned with miniatures, of which the finest specimen is probably that at Jerusalem (no. 5 in Papadopoulos-Kerameus' Catalogue), which is of cent. xiii., and has 117 pictures. But I do not find that the Testament has influenced these pictures, save perhaps in this one point that Job's wife is sometimes represented as bringing him bread. This, for instance, is the case in the great 9th century MS of Gregory Nazianzen at Paris (no. 510).

Character and Date of the Book.

The absence of external testimony to the existence of the Testament in early times is the less important because the book has a very marked character of its own.

It belongs to a fairly large, and very interesting class of apocryphal books. The "Testaments" written in the names of various ancient worthies profess to give us their last words and the story of their deaths in most cases: and according as the reputed author sometimes deals in reminiscences of his life, or in revelations of the unseen, or advice to his children, or as the circumstances attending his death are made sensational, a wide variety of character is shown in the books which bear the name of Testaments. The specimens of the literature which we possess may be rapidly passed under review. They are:

(1) *The Testament of Adam,* otherwise called the Apocalypse, or Penitence of Adam, or Apocalypse of Moses. The main elements of this book are narrative and apocalyptic. It has been Christianised.

(2) *The Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.* The first of these is also mainly narrative and apocalypse. The last two have less narrative, and more didactic matter, with an admixture of apocalypse. These books have been to some extent Christianised.

(3) *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.* These books deal mainly in narrative, and ethical precept. Two or three of them (notably Levi and Nephthalim) contain visions. Christian interpolations are frequent.

(4) *The Testament of Moses,* otherwise called the Little Genesis, Book of Jubilees, Apocalypse of Moses. I have a notion that the title Testament was only applied to this book when—as was often the case—it was combined with the *Assumption of Moses.* For it does not deal with the last words of Moses, whereas the *Assumption* does. The matter is historical and didactic, not properly speaking apocalyptic at all, though it is communicated to Moses by an angel. There are no Christian portions.

(5) *The Testament of Solomon.* This is properly a Testament, inasmuch as it gives the last dying confession of Solomon. It consists of narrative, and of magical lore. There are a few Christian insertions. It is to be found in Fleck's *Wissenschaftliche Reise* ii. 3, p. 111, and in Migne's Cedrenus, vol. ii.

(6) *The Testament of Hezekiah.* Cedrenus uses this name when he quotes a passage from the book which we know as the Ascension of Isaiah. It is a curious name and seemingly an inappropriate one: for there is but one short passage in that book referring to the last days of Hezekiah, and Isaiah is distinctly the hero of the whole. We must therefore, I think, leave this item on one side as an anomaly.

(7) *The Testament of our Lord.* This book is as yet not satisfactorily known. We depend upon the Syriac version published by Lagarde with a translation into Greek in *Reliquiae Iuris Eccl. Antiq.* It seems to exist also in Carshunic and Ethiopic. Its contents are mainly apocalyptic.

It would appear from an article by Professor E. H. Palmer (*Journal of Philology* iii. 223) that the testamentary literature has representatives in non-Jewish literature in the East. His words are: "We have...many books, in Arabic and other oriental languages, composed on the same plan. Of these, I may instance the Jávídán Khirad of Abu'alí Maskawí, in which not only are certain moral precepts put into the mouth of Hosheng, one of the earliest kings of Persia, but Testaments attributed to nearly all the wise men of antiquity are contained in the same volume. It is worthy of note that the phrase *yà baní*, 'Oh my son,' is of constant occurrence, this according exactly with the use of the words τέκνιά μου in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs."

So we come to the Testament of Job, of which the general complexion most nearly resembles among the books described above that of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. It stands alone in its class in one respect: I mean in the number of hymns and poetical speeches which are found in it. It further resembles the Testament of Moses in one respect; in that it is a haggadic commentary upon a canonical book—in other words, a Midrash. It will be plain from the analogy of the books I have enumerated

that we may very well expect to find Christian portions, whether inserted or original, in this Testament as well. And we have now to examine the text and try to ascertain whether or no such passages exist. And in the course of this examination it will not be out of place to notice generally the resemblances with the rest of the pseudepigraphic literature and with the LXX in general: though notes on the text of a critical kind will be deferred.

The opening words of the whole book (the title may be left out of consideration) should perhaps be read *Βίβλος λόγων Ἰὼβ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἰωβάβ, καὶ ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης αὐτοῦ.* Parallels to this are frequent in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The expression *ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης* occurs in Reuben, Nephthalim, Gad, Aser, Joseph: *ἀντίγραφον λόγων* is the phrase in all the rest.

The words of M, *καὶ ἐγνωκὼς τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος*, recall the matter though not the phraseology of the beginnings of Test. Levi and Test. Nephth. Each of these patriarchs pre-sees his death.

The calling of the children to the death-bed is almost an inevitable feature. It occurs in the Testaments of the Patriarchs and also in *Apoc. Mosis* (Test. Adam) 14 *κάλεσον πάντα τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν,...ἀκούσατε, πάντα τὰ τέκνα μου...κἀγὼ ἀναγγελῶ ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ.*

ἐν πάσῃ ὑπομονῇ γενόμενος. This phrase suggests another feature of the Testament literature, which I have elsewhere noticed (*Test. Abr.* p. 120): I mean the tendency to dwell upon some particular virtue or vice, which was illustrated by the life of the supposed author. Each of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs specialises in this way, and the main thought of each is expressed in its title: e.g. *Διαθήκη Δὰν περὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ψεύδους.* Hospitality and mercy are the leading features in the Testament of Abraham. In the Testament of Job the keynotes are *ὑπομονὴ* and *ἐλεημοσύνη.*

Job is identified with Jobab, the descendant of Esau mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 33 *ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωβὰβ υἱὸς Ζαρὰ ἐκ Βοσόρρας.* A scholium quoted by Field on this passage says: *οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰώβ.* The identification is most likely derived immediately from the Greek supplement to Job xlii., which is itself mainly drawn from Gen. xxxvi. Of the identification of his second wife with Dinah a word has already been said.

The destruction of the idol and its temple may be compared with the similar act of Gideon, and still more recalls the legend of Abraham's iconoclasm, for which our best authority is Jubilees xii. (cf. Suidas s. v. *Ἀβραάμ*: and *Clem. Recogn.* i. 32).

iv. In c. iv. is the first suspicious expression: *ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*, which occurs in St Matthew and in the Ep. to the Hebrews, as well as in Christian portions of the *Test. xii. Patr.* But though the combination *συντ. τοῦ αἰῶνος* does not occur in the LXX, we have close approaches to it in Jewish writings: e.g. in Daniel xii. *συντέλεια ἡμερῶν*: and there is nothing essentially Christian in the phrase.

In the same speech are other noticeable words: *ἀπροσωπόληπτος*, which does not occur in the LXX, while the adverb of it is found in 1 Pet. i. 17.

ἐγερθήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει (+ *εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* M). The added words in M are from Dan. xii. I am at present inclined to believe that this clause stands in the relation of an original to the LXX supplement (xlii. 17 a). It is noteworthy that in M we find in this section a phrase which has a distinct flavour of the N.T., *στέφανον ἀμαράντινον κομίσεις* (1 Pet. v. 3). The connexion of endurance with a crown is however found in both texts, and should be compared with James i. 12 *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν, ὅτι δόκιμος γενόμενος λήμψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.* It should be remembered at this point that St James is the one New Testament writer who cites the story of Job (v. 11): and there are not wanting other resemblances in the Testament to the phraseology and thought of the Epistle. Herr Spitta has recently advanced the theory—and maintained it with ability—that the Epistle of James is not a Christian writing at all. It is to be wished that he had taken into account the Testament of Job in his investigations: but, so far as I can see, he has, in common with wellnigh all modern writers, been unaware of its existence.

v. At the beginning of c. v. we have the words *ἄχρι θανάτου ὑπομείνω*, which afford a link with Rev. ii. 10 *γίνου πιστὸς ἄχρι θανάτου, καὶ δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς.*

μετὰ τὸ σφραγισθῆναί με ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου (*ὁ ἄγγελος σφραγι-*

σάμενός με M). A Christian interpretation might easily be given to these words; and indeed I fancy Mai's text indicates such an interpretation by its less emphatic wording: as if the process of "sealing" were a matter of course. Two possible interpretations are suggested by two passages from the New Testament: the one is Rom. iv. 11 σημεῖον ἔλαβεν περιτομῆς, σφραγῖδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ, the other, Rev. vii. 3 ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν.

vi. οὐ σχολάζει. The LXX always employ the word in this sense, namely of being idle or at liberty. Mai's text takes the other (and later?) meaning, that is, of *not* being at liberty. Later on, it misinterprets the word διαφωνῶ. Note also that Mai's text uses the word ὁ πονηρὸς in vii. where the other has ὁ Σατανᾶς.

The coincidence of ὃ ποιεῖς ποίησον with a phrase in John xiii. 28 is noteworthy.

viii. The resemblance between ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ and ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (Lc. iv. 13), both being used of Satan, is striking, but insufficient to build a theory upon, if it stands alone.

ἀπελθὼν ὑπὸ τὸ στερέωμα. The regions immediately adjoining the firmament are proper, in much of the Jewish apocryphal literature, to Satan—the prince of the power of the air—and his angels. In the *Test. Salomonis* the devils fly up near the firmament to hear the sentences pronounced against the souls of men: Ἡμεῖς οἱ δαίμονες ἀνερχόμεθα κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ μέσον τῶν ἀστέρων ἱπτάμεθα. On this point Mr Charles' notes on the *Secret Books of Enoch* should be consulted.

ix. The description of Job's wealth and manner of life, which occupies cc. ix—xv., is based upon the canonical book, as will be seen by reference to the table of passages given above. Of course it is a vastly exaggerated description: for instance, the numbers of cattle specified in the canonical Job are here taken as the numbers of those which the patriarch set aside for charitable purposes.

Descriptions of charity, not very dissimilar, are in the Testaments of Issachar and Zabulon.

x. The occurrence, in close proximity, of the words *χῆραι, διακονία, τράπεζα* recalls the passage Acts vi. 1, 2.

xi. In c. xi. *Μακροθύμησον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· <ἵνα> ἴδωμεν πῶς ἀποκαταστῆσαί σοι δυνάμεθα*, cf. Matt. xviii. 26 (29) *Μακροθύμησον ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ πάντα ἀποδώσω σοι.* Again a noteworthy coincidence of language.

A few lines further on we have a passage which favours the idea that Greek was the original language of the Testament. I refer to the passage about the cancelling of the debtor's bond. This, as will be seen from the table given above, is based on the LXX of Job xxxi. 35—37, which totally differs from the Hebrew. In particular the phrase of the Testament *στέφανον ἐπιφερόμενος ἀφαιρήσεως* is an attempt to extract sense from the LXX *ἐπ' ὤμοις ἂν περιθέμενος στέφανον ἀνεγίνωσκον.* The writer of the Testament probably means "I took the loss of my money as a crown to myself." Mai's text omits the words and paraphrases the whole sentence.

xii. The allusion to deferring the payment of wages is another point in common with the Epistle of James (v. 4).

xiii. The text of this section will be discussed subsequently. I will only remark here that the word *διαφωνῶ* (which is a favourite one with our author) means in the LXX (cf. Test. Gad. 5), as here, "to grow weary, faint, or fail," and that M has taken it in quite another sense, as meaning "to call to": compare M's former interpretation of *σχολάζω* (c. vi.).

xiv. *τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως ἔψαλλον.* Cf. Heb. x. 35 *τὴν παρρησίαν ὑμῶν, ἥτις ἔχει μεγάλην μισθαποδοσίαν*: xi. 26 *ἀπέβλεπεν γὰρ εἰς τὴν μισθαποδοσίαν.* There are also words in x. 32 which describe an experience very like that of Job: *φωτισθέντες πολλὴν ἄθλησιν ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων.*

xv. *μετὰ τὴν σύνταξιν.* This is the daily allowance made to the poor. Cf. 3 Esdr. vi. 29 *σύνταξιν δίδοσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ.* M omits the words.

βδέλυγμά ἐστιν ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ὑπερηφανία. So Sirach x. 7 *μισητὴ ἔναντι κυρίου καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑπερηφανία.* James (iv. 6) quotes a similar text from Prov. iii. 34.

M (*ἀνέφερον δὲ κ. μόσχους τῷ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον*) inserts a priest. A similar tendency is seen in Jewish books, e.g. Test. Issachar 2, 3.

xviii. *οὕτω κἀγὼ ἡγησάμην τὰ ἐμὰ ἀντ' οὐδένος πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἧς λελάληκέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος.* Here is a sentence omitted by M. Cf. Heb. xi. 10 *ἐξεδέχετο γὰρ τὴν τοὺς θεμελίους ἔχουσαν πόλιν κ.τ.λ.*: 16 *ἡτοίμασεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πόλιν.* Also x. 34 "ye took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing that ye have a better and more enduring substance."

These coincidences with the Ep. to the Hebrews are very marked.

xx. *ἐποίησα τρεῖς ὥρας.* Cf. *Apoc. Mosis* 37 *ἐποίησεν δὲ τρεῖς ὥρας* (so D) *κείμενος*: *Asc. Iesaiae Graece*, ii. 3.

xxii. We are reminded of the situation in Tobit, where, after Tobit has become blind and poor, his wife Anna is obliged to support him by manual labour.

xxv. In this section we encounter the first of the poetical insertions in this book. They are four in number: the first two consist of a number of clauses with a constant refrain after each. The third is composed of a number of antitheses or contrasts: the last most nearly resembles the ordinary Hebrew Psalm, but has the peculiarity that the last verse is almost identical with the first. There is a poetical composition very much in the style of the one now before us in the History of Aseneth, but only in the Syriac, Armenian and Latin versions of it. After every verse in the Latin is the refrain "peccaui, domine, peccaui, in conspectu tuo multum peccaui."

The author of the Testament refers to other collections of hymns (e.g. in cc. xlix., l.), of which it need only be said at present that their reality is extremely questionable.

In this section we also find the only Latin word in the Testament—*βῆλα*. Its occurrence has not much significance as regards the date of the book, which no one would be inclined to place much earlier than the first century before Christ.

xxvii. *γαλεάγρα* occurs in Ezek. xix. 9 and is also the word used in the *Ascensio Isaiae* (iii. 6 *Gr.*) of Manasseh's capture. *κάρταλλος* is the LXX word for a bird-cage or basket.

The closing words of the section are in the true Testamentary style: the speaker drawing a moral for his Readers from his own experience. Almost every one of the *Test. xii. Patr.* supplies parallels.

xxviii. A curious blunder occurs here. The kings come *εἰς τὴν Αὐσιτίδα* and ask where is Jobab, *ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὅλης βασιλεύων* (M has *χώρας ταύτης*). It is possible that it was the slip of a writer living in Egypt, who wrote down the name of his own country almost unconsciously.

xxxi. sqq. There is a confusion between Elihu and Eliphaz in our texts. The Paris MS reads Elihu throughout down to xxxiv. Mai's text vacillates between the two. However, it seems that Elihu is really the person intended: for in chapter xli. (P) Elihu speaks of having uttered a lament over Job's former wealth: M in that place omits some important words, and makes the reference vague. If we were allowed to read Eliphaz throughout these chapters, we should have the order of the speakers in the Book of Job preserved. Eliphaz would be the speaker up to c. xxxiv., Bildad in xxxv—xxxviii., Zophar in xxxviii., and Elihu in xli.

xxxiii. Here, in the words *εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἰώβ*, the first person is dropped for a moment by the Paris MS: and this suggests the question whether in these poetical utterances we are not dealing with a series of interpolations. Certainly the introduction of Elihu's lament in xxxii. is peculiar: *Ἀκούσατε οὖν τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ τοῦ Ἐλιοῦ ὑποδεικνύοντος τοῖς παισὶν τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ Ἰώβ*, which reads very much like a gloss. On the other hand M in both these passages preserves the first person; and the phraseology of the poems does not (at least to my thinking) show a different hand. The occurrence of hymns in these romances may be paralleled from the Book of Tobit.

The hymn of Job in this section twice applies the word *πατὴρ* to God. At first sight this may seem Christian: but such passages as Wisd. xiv. 3, Sirach xxiii. 1, 4 (quoted by Spitta on James i. 17, with other passages) remind us that it occurs in purely Jewish books. *ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός* is superficially more suspicious: but cf. Ps. cix. 1. The *ἅρματα τοῦ πατρός* are described in

Apoc. Mosis 33 *ἅρμα φωτὸς ἐρχόμενον (ἑλκόμενον ?) ὑπὸ τεσσαρων ἀετῶν λαμπρῶν.*

ἐν τῷ ὑπερκοσμίῳ. Apoc. Petri ἐκτὸς τούτου τοῦ κόσμου.

ὁ κόσμος ὅλος παρελεύσεται κ.τ.λ. So 1 Cor. vii. 31, 1 Joh. ii. 17 (in both of which *παράγειν* is used) and Didache x. The transitoriness of life is emphasised in James v. *ἁγία γῆ* occurs of Palestine in Zech. ii. 12. In the word *ἀπαράλλακτος* is a striking reminder of James i. 17 *παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἔνι παραλλαγή*: and there is one only less obvious in the occurrence of *ἔσοπτρον* (cf. James i. 23).

εἰς τὸ διηνεκές is a phrase not found in the LXX, but familiar from the Ep. to the Hebrews (vii. 3, x. 1, 12, 14).

xxxv. The two days' illness of which Bildad reminds Eliphaz no doubt took place on their first arrival, and was due to the *δυσωδία* of Job. It does not, I think, refer to Job iv.

xxxviii. The questions put by Job to Bildad are of the same nature as those propounded in 4 Esdras or in Eccl. xi. 5.

xxxviii. *fin. κυρίου, τοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς κτίσαντος* closely resembles Sirach xxxviii. 1 *τίμα ἰατρὸν...καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔκτισεν κύριος.*

xli. The view that Elihu was inspired by Satan is a very interesting one, and shows that the author felt, as we do now, that the speech of Elihu is out of place in the Book of Job. Traces of this view elsewhere are not frequent. Emanuel Deutsch, in a pamphlet on Elihu, quotes an identification of Elihu with Balaam by R. Akiba, and the same view is mentioned as a *traditio patrum* by Bede in his Commentary. In recent times J. Voigtländer (in Bernstein's *Analecta*) put forward the view that Elihu is Satan.

xli., xlii. In these two short sections the whole of the substance of Job iv—xlii. 6 is summed up.

It is clear from the hymn in xliii., as well as from the word *θηρίον* in xlii., that the devil who inspires Elihu is identified with the serpent. This identification is apparent in the Apocalypse, and we know from Origen that it was in some sort contained in the Assumption of Moses. In the Apocalypse of

Moses Satan enters into the serpent, which has an intelligence of its own independent of his.

xlv. *Μὴ λάβετε ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων.* A close parallel is in Tobit iv. 12. This precept, coupled with the endeavour made in c. i. to connect Job with Israel, is the strongest indication of a Jewish origin for the Testament which we encounter anywhere in it. At the same time, the book is not one which a strict Pharisee could have written. Had this been the case, there must have been some introduction of the law either by way of prediction, or else in such a manner as to show that it was practically in force in patriarchal times.

xlvi. At this point Job ceases to be the speaker, and the narrative is continued by another person, who is eventually stated to be Nahor, Job's brother. The question as to the integrity of the book, which this phenomenon raises, must be discussed when our survey of the text is completed.

xlvii. *τοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν.* This coming of angels to fetch the soul is especially prominent in the Story of Zosimas xiii—xv. (*Apocr. Anecd.* 1st series).

xlviii. *μηκέτι τὰ τῆς γῆς φρονεῖν.* Cf. Col. iii. 2 *τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*: also *Asc. Ies. Gr.* ii. 1.

The wonderful hymns uttered by Job's daughters may be compared with the hymns uttered by the fabulous Hierotheus at the Virgin's death-bed (Dionys. Areop. *De Div. Nom.* iii. 2).

l. *πατρικῆς δόξης.* Cf. *Asc. Ies. Gr.* ii. 4.

li. *Νηρείας* or *Νηρεὸς* here first appears as the writer of the book: he is probably to be identified with Nahor: so M in c. i. *ἀδελφὸς Ναώρ.*

lii. *ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ὀδύνης.* Cf. Story of Zosimas xiii.

The death of Job must be compared with that of Adam in *Apoc. Mosis* 37, as it appears in the best MS (D, at Milan): *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξέτεινεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦρεν τὸν Ἀδάμ.* The angels have *θυμιατήρια.*

liii. *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.* So *Test. Abr.* A. xx. p. 103 and note p. 126. The soul adores God on the third day after death.

ἐν καλῷ ὕπνῳ. Twice this expression is used in Test. xii. Patr., of Zebulun (10) and Asher (8).

Our survey of the text, incomplete though it may be, has probably included the essential points. We ought to be in a position to express some opinion on the general question whether it is Jewish, or Christian, or whether it is a Jewish book interpolated in the Christian interest. For myself, I began by looking upon it as purely Jewish and indeed pre-Christian in date. I do not hold that view now.

The coincidences with New Testament phrases which have been noted in this introduction, and also in the marginal references to the text, are numerous and marked. They are too numerous, I think, to be set down as mere chance similarities; and their character is not such that they can be eliminated as Christian interpolations. They do not, for instance, at all resemble such insertions as that of the name of Jesus in 4 Esdr. vii. 28 (Lat.).

The phrases in question are, so far as I can see, inseparably interwoven with their context: and they are for the most part not distinctively Christian in a doctrinal sense, but are often taken from the narrative or descriptive portions of the New Testament: a phenomenon which seems to show first that our author's mind was saturated with New Testament language, and, secondly, that he designedly refrained from introducing distinctively and unmistakably Christian expressions into his work. This state of things, rare as it is in the Apocryphal literature, is not an impossible one by any means: and it should surprise us the less in this case, inasmuch as we are dealing with the work of a man who was evidently something of a literary artist.

I believe, then, that the writer of the text before us was a Christian: but that he was a Jew by birth is more than a probability. He writes on Jewish lines: his book is, as has been said, a Midrash: and, though he is careful not to introduce anything like the Mosaic legislation into it, he does his best to

connect his hero with Israel, and makes him give utterance to Jewish precepts, and practise Jewish virtues. In favour of this view we have also to reckon the fact that other books of this kind, notably the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, go back to Hebrew originals. And there is one book in particular whose history seems to be very much the same as that which I have imagined for the writing before us. This is the History of Aseneth. In that we have a Midrash on a part of Genesis in a Greek form, put into that form, as far as we can judge, by a Christian hand, and yet almost entirely without distinctively Christian expressions. The author of the history of Aseneth as we have it now might almost have been identical with the author of the Testament of Job.

As to the country and date of the latter, it is not easy to pronounce. In one passage (c. xxviii.) Egypt is mentioned in a manner which may point to the writer's having been a resident there: and, if he were a Christian, he can hardly be placed earlier than in the second century. If we think of him as a Jew by birth, a Christian by faith, and as living in Egypt in the second or third century, we shall not, I believe, be far wrong. But the puzzling fact of a Jewish book full of Christian phrases is still before us: and I can only explain it to myself by supposing that the writer of the text before us had a text before him to deal with. In other words, it seems to me probable that he was putting into Greek a Hebrew Midrash on Job. He has not Christianised it: but it has come natural to him to use familiar New Testament phrases and terms of expression in giving the sense of the Hebrew text: and, as we might reasonably expect, he has drawn largely from the Greek Version of the Book of Job. Thus, his work is not a literal translation of a Hebrew original: it is rather a paraphrase thereof in Greek.

That our author felt himself at liberty to make some additions to his original follows from what has been said. With regard to one particular section (cc. xlvi—liii.) there seem to be appreciable reasons for supposing that it is such an addition.

First, in cc. i—xlv. Job is the speaker: he ceases to be so in cc. xlvi—liii. This is to some extent unavoidable: in all books of this kind we expect a short conclusion, ostensibly by

another hand, which shall state that the hero died and was buried. But in this case the concluding chapters contain a great deal more. They are mainly an amplification of the words "Job gave (his daughters) an inheritance among their brethren": and they introduce something more in the apocalyptic strain than elsewhere appears in the book.

They are, moreover, of rather a supplementary character. For instance, we find no mention of the healing of Job in its proper place in the story: but there is a rather detailed account of it in c. xlvii. In the rest of the book, again, there is little said about angels. In c. x. M (but not P) describes the person who speaks to Job as "the archangel of God," but that is all. In these last chapters, however, we read of the special languages of angels, of ἀρχαὶ (or ἄρχοντες), and of Cherubim; besides the expression δεσπότης τῶν ἀρετῶν,—phrases which indicate a highly developed angelology. Here also, and here only, we find τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα in the text of P (omitted by M).

There is a further question here, which demands some notice. What is the meaning of the wonderful girdles which are given by Job to his daughters? It is said of them that they will benefit the wearers both in this world and the next. I think that Professor Robinson is right in suggesting that they are the symbol of chastity. We are to think of Job's daughters as resembling Philip's "four daughters, virgins, which prophesied." Virginity is almost without exception an attribute of a prophetess: and Job's daughters are prophetesses. The girdle, again, is a recognised ecclesiastical symbol of chastity: and Job's daughters receive girdles of heavenly make. So that in this episode we have something of an ascetic tendency, veiled though it is by symbols.

When we examine the connexion between cc. lii. and liii., we seem to detect a rather clumsy suture. At least there is a good deal of tautology, if not a double statement of Job's burial: and in the opening of c. liii. as given by P there is a distinct anacoluthon.

Lastly, it seems that the proportions of the book are rather injured by the introduction of this episode, which has less to do with Job himself than with his daughters. The Testament is

introduced in a very simple and straight-forward way by the calling of Job's children to his death-bed (incidentally I would note that the *νοσήσας* of c. i. is rather explained away or softened down in c. lii.): and it is brought to a similarly plain conclusion in c. xlv. with one or two dying injunctions, rather in the style of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs or of Tobit. What we expect after this is a simple statement of Job's death, and then just such an account of his funeral as we have in c. liii.

According to my view, then, this episode of Job's daughters is one of the additions made by the Greek paraphrast to his Hebrew Midrash: and the same is most likely true of the hymns which have been so often mentioned. We may suppose the original document to have contained the history of Job's call to monotheism, and destruction of the idol-temple, of Satan's trickery, of Job's hospitality and afflictions, of the visit of the kings, and of the hero's death and burial. The longer speeches, the hymns, the similes, and the whole of cc. xlvi—lii., will have been inserted by the man who put the story into Greek.

Something in the nature of a mediaeval analogy to the Testament of Job is afforded by Western literature. The *Bible Historial* in its fullest form usually contains a version of the complete Book of Job from the Vulgate, and, in addition to this, a *résumé* of the story, omitting the dialogues. These two documents are entitled respectively "le grand Job," and "le petit Job."

A few more general remarks may be made before we sum up this part of the subject. First, as to the peculiarities in the author's style. On three occasions he indulges in rather elaborate metaphors, namely in c. iv. (of an athlete), in xviii. (of a sea-tossed merchant), and in xxvii. (of a pair of wrestlers). This is not a very familiar feature in the literature we are dealing with. The similes have, both in matter and in manner, a suggestion of the influence of Greek literature. I might be allowed to couple with this the remark that the pastoral life described (especially in xiii.) recalls to a slight extent passages in the bucolic poets of Alexandria, particularly that idyll of Theocritus called *Ἡρακλῆς λεοντοφόνος* (ll. 85—107).

Again, the author has a trick of referring to other books. In xl. he says that the lamentation over Sitis is to be found in the *παραλειπόμενα*: in xli. that the speeches of Elihu are recorded in the *παραλειπόμενα* of Eliphaz: in xlviii. that the hymns of Hemera were written on her garments: in xlix. those of Casia are mentioned, in l. the prayers of Amaltheias-keras: and in li. it is said that Nereias recorded the hymns of all the three daughters in a book (though here M differs). All these works are probably quite imaginary, unless the *παραλειπόμενα* of Eliphaz is meant for the canonical Book of Job. The trick—for it is no more—may be intended to give verisimilitude to the narrative, or to leave the author a loop-hole for future compositions of a poetical kind, to which he was evidently addicted: but it is a peculiarity to which I do not find a parallel elsewhere in apocryphal books. It is ultimately borrowed from the references so often given in the Books of Kings and Chronicles to other sources of information.

I am inclined to award praise to the book as a literary production. The writer shows a good deal of poetic feeling, notably in the description of the death of Job's wife: and the proceedings of Satan are conceived in a designedly humorous spirit.

Text.

The readings of M which seem important are printed in a spaced type. In the present section I wish to call attention to some at least of those which ought to be adopted, and also to construct a text in one or two passages where the MSS are confused.

i. *καὶ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ νοσήσας καὶ ἐγνωκὼς τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος.* The opening and closing words of Apocryphal books preserved for liturgical use in late MSS are peculiarly liable to expansion and alteration. It is probable to me that here *ἀντίγρ. διαθ.* and the last clause may be genuine.

The names of the sons (given by P and omitted by M) are clearly not Hebrew. *τερσι · χορος* may be intended to cover

Τερψιχόρος and *νικη · φορος* is undeniably Νικηφόρος. There is no reason, however, in this for rejecting them.

ii. *ἄρα πῶς γνώσομαι* < *τὸ ἀληθές* M > is to be adopted.

iv. M places the simile of the athlete before the promise to Job: but as this text shows itself less original by interpolating a N.T. phrase (*στέφανον ἀμαράντινον κομίσεις*) I prefer to keep the text of P.

ix. M rightly keeps a clause about the dogs, which has dropped out of P through the repetition of *φυλάσσοντες*: but wrongly reads *καὶ μύλους* for *καμήλους*. *ἅπαντες* P *οἱ πένητες* M. M is to be preferred here.

xi. *ἵνα ἴδωμεν* of M is right.

xiii. Here is our first bad corruption. The texts are as follows:

P. *Διεφώνουν δὲ οἱ ἀμέλγοντες τὰς βοῦς ῥέοντες ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν· καὶ τὸ βούτυρον διεχεῖτο ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐν ταῖς πέτραις καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐκοιτάζοντο διὰ τὰ λοχευόμενα· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὄρη ἐκλύζοντο γάλακτι καὶ ὡς πεπειγμένον βούτυρον γίγνεσθαι· ἀπέκαμνον δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

M. *Διεφ. δὲ οἱ ἀμέλγ. τὰς βόας ἢ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τοὺς παροδίτας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὅπως μεταλάβωσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ· καὶ διεχεῖτο γάλα τὸ βούτυρον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πέτραις καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐκοιτάζοντο διαλοχευόμενα· ἀπέκαμον δὲ κ.τ.λ.*

The secondary nature of M is evident from its misuse of *διεφώνουν*, noticed above. A further indication of the meaning of the word here is its evident parallelism to *ἀπέκαμνον*. Moreover throughout this passage M is obscure: there is no subject to *ἐκοιτάζοντο*, and *διαλοχευόμενα* is nonsense. Two slight changes restore coherence to P. We must read < *τοῦ γάλακτος* > *ῥέοντος* for *ῥέοντες*, and *ὥστε* for *καὶ ὡς*.

xiv. *fin.* The words *ψαλμοῦ τουτέστιν* of P seem to be a marginal gloss (perhaps on *ψαλτηρίου*) which has got into the text in a wrong place: similarly intrusive words are found in xxiv., l.

xvi. is much shortened in M.

xvii. *ἀπολέσω* of M is to be adopted.

xviii. Some such word as *ἔχων* is wanted to govern *φορτίον*. In M there is a considerable omission here. Later on it rightly reads *ἰδὼν* for *εἶδον*.

xx. The words *ἔρρεον καὶ* are required: they have dropped out of P. *ἀφίστατο* is also right in M, and probably *κατῴκιζον*, as against *ἐφήστατο* and *κατήγγιζον* of P.

xxiv. Another case of corruption: the texts are:

P. *ὥστε τολμῆσαί με ἀναισχύντως ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν [εἰ κατανύγομαι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκετὸν] πράττειν· Δὸς τὸ ἀργύριον*

M. *ἐτόλμησα ἀναισχ. ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ τοῦ πράτου εἰπόντος μοι Δὸς ἀργύριον*

The words in brackets are a slightly different form of a preceding clause *ἐννοουμένη ἐν τῇ κ. μου ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκετὸν*. No doubt they have come in from the margin. *πράττειν* is evidently for *πράτην*. I should restore something of this kind *ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τ. ἀγ. <καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἄρτον· καὶ εἰπεῖν μοι τὸν> πράτην*.

xxvi. M has here a right reading where P is corrupt. The text in ll. 12, 13 should run *καὶ τὴν τῶν τέκνων ἡμῶν ἀπώλειαν κ. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑπομένωμεν· καὶ βούλει ἡμᾶς ἄρτι λαλῆσαί τι ῥῆμα κ.τ.λ.*

xxvii. The simile of the two wrestlers is corrupt.

P. *ἐγένου γὰρ ὃν τρόπον ἀθλητὴς μετὰ ἀθλητοῦ, καὶ εἷς τὸν ἕνα κατέρραξαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπάνω τὸν ὑποκάτω ἐφίμωσεν πλήσας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἄμμου καὶ πᾶν μέρος συγκλάσας ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἐνέγκαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ διαφωνήσαντος μέγα ἐφώνησεν ἀκμὴν ὁ ἐπάνω.*

M. *ἐγενόμην ὃν τρόπον ἀθλητὴς παλαίων μετὰ ἀθλητοῦ καὶ εἷς τὸν ἕνα κατέρρηξεν πλήσας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἄμμον καὶ πᾶν μέλος αὐτοῦ συγκλάσας· ὁ δὲ ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἐνέγκαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν καρτερίαν ἃ μὴ διαφωνήσαντος, ἐφώνησε δὲ ἀκμὴν ἐπάνω.*

The sense indicated by these texts I take to be as follows. "Thou (Job) wast as when an athlete wrestles with another, and

one throws the other: and the one who is on the top fills the other's mouth with sand and bruises all his limbs: while the one who is undermost endures all his assaults and does not faint, and suddenly he who is uppermost gives in." I would suggest the following text as a conjectural restoration:

ἐγένου γὰρ ὃν τρόπον ἀθλητὴς παλαίων μετὰ ἀθλητοῦ, καὶ εἷς τὸν ἕνα κατέρραξεν· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπάνω τὸν ὑποκάτω ἐφίμωσεν πλήσας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἄμμου καὶ πᾶν μέλος αὐτοῦ συγκλάσας, ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἐνέγκαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν καρτερίαν· οὗ μὴ διαφωνήσαντος μετὰ <ταῦτα> διεφώνησεν ἀκμὴν ὁ ἐπάνω.

Unless indeed it should appear that *μέγα ἐφώνησεν* or *ἐφώνησεν* by itself could have a technical sense of "giving in."

In l. 12 M's *παλαιστρικὰ* is right against the *πλευτρικὰ* of P.

xxxii. M's *θυμιατήρια τῆς ὠδῆς ἐκ λίθων* seems preferable to P's *θυμ. τῆς εὐώδους ἐκκλησίας.*

xxxiii. For *ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς* M has *ἐκ δεξ. τῶν σωτῆρος.* But the difference between *σρος* and *προς* is very slight.

xxxvii. P *πῶς οὖν ἄδικος η κρίνων ἐπενεγκών σοι τὰς πληγὰς. ταύτας.*

M *πῶς ἀδικῆσαι κρῖνον ἐπενεγκών σοι κ.τ.λ.*

Perhaps we should read *πῶς οὐκ ἄδικος ἦν, κρῖνον.*

xxxviii. P *πάρωμεν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τοὺς ἰατροὺς.*

M *παρόντες μεθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἰατρ....ἐπαγάγομεν.*

Read *παρηγάγομεν.*

xxxix. P *ἀσφαλίσασθαι ἐπὶ μνήμῃ ἰσχύσωμεν.*

M *ἀσφαλισθῇ ἐπὶ μνήματα, ἐπεὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἰσχύσαμεν.*

M is right here.

xl. The sense of the original, which neither P nor M have quite kept, is I think this, that when the employer of Sitis found her dead in the stable, *all the beasts* cried out over her *μετὰ μυκήματος κλαυθμοῦ*: and the noise they made attracted the citizens, who rushed in and found her dead, and the beasts weeping over her.

xliii. P *ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ σκότους.*
M *ὅτι υἱός ἐστιν τοῦ σκότους.* Here again M is right.

li. P *ἀνεγραψάμην τὸ βιβλίον ὅλον πλείστων σημειώσεων τῶν ὕμνων παρὰ τῶν τριῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου, σωτήριον ταῦτα εἶναι.* M *ἀνεγρ. τὸ βιβλ. τοῦτο, πλὴν τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῦ ῥήματος.*

Here is a difference on a question of fact. P makes Nahor record the hymns of the daughters in a book. M will have it that he wrote "all this book" (i.e. the Testament), not inserting the hymns. It is quite in our author's manner to mention this imaginary hymn-book of Nahor's: and on this account I incline to keep the reading of P. The word *πλείστων* however would so easily come out of *πλὴν τῶν* that I do not feel certain about it.

In this survey I have mentioned most of the inferior readings of P, and not many of those in M. A study of the variants will soon show that M is not so good an authority as P.

The chronology of the book is a point which I have hitherto left out of sight. It is rather confused in the two MSS. The indications are as follows:

xvi. P gives seven years between Job's call and the loss of his property. M omits this. In P Job's charity seems to be consequent upon his call by the angel.

xx. P Job is plagued 48 years.
M ——— 7 years.
(ibid. After 11 years (P, "a long time" M) he is deprived of bread. It is very likely a mistake for 17 in P. In xxvi. P gives this as 17 years, M as 7.)

xxviii. The kings come after 20 years P (twice mentioned).
Omitted in M in the first place: in the second, given as 7 years.

In xxxi. the kings fumigate Job for 3 days in P, for 3 hours in M.

xli. M and P agree in assigning 27 days to the main discourses.

lii. P. After 3 days Job falls ill: omitted in M.

liii. M appends a calculation of Job's life, partly from the LXX.

"He lived before the plague 75 years.
after it 150 years.
In all 248 years." (LXX 240 B: 248 $\aleph^{corr}$AC.)

Whence we gather that the plague lasted 23 years: M has however consistently represented the plague as lasting 7 years.

P gives no such total anywhere, but probably was influenced by the LXX 248 in assigning 48 years to the plague. The great length of time is prominent in the passage quoted from the Apocalypse of Paul, which gives 30 years.

The only point that comes out clearly is that P is inclined to give a fabulous and exaggerated chronology and that M prunes this down wherever it can.

ACTORUM IOHANNIS

A LEUCIO CONSCRIPTORUM FRAGMENTUM

<ἐκ τῶν περιόδων ἰωάννου.>

f. 51 *b* Διήγησις θαυμαστὴ περὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ ὀπτασίας, ἣν εἶδεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· πῶς ἐφάνη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Πέτρου καὶ Ἰάκωβον· καὶ ὅπου διηγεῖται τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ μυστήριον. Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα.

I. Ἐξήτασαν οὖν οἱ παρόντες τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ μάλιστα ἠπόρουν, εἰρηκυίας τῆς Δρουσιάνης ὅτι Μοι ὁ κύριος ὡς Ἰωάννης ὤφθη ἐν τῷ μνήματι καὶ ὡς νεανίσκος· ἠπορημένων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ μηδέπω ἐστηριγμένων τῇ πίστει βεβαίως φέρειν, ὁ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, οὐδὲν ξένον πεπόνθατε οὐδὲ παράδοξον περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν <κύριον> ἐκδοχῆς· ὅπου γε καὶ ἡμεῖς, οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἑαυτῷ ἀποστόλους, πολλὰ ἐπειράσθημεν. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν <οὔτε> προσομιλεῖν οὔτε γράψαι χωρῶ ἅ τε εἶδον ἅ τε ἤκουσα· καὶ νῦν μὲν δεῖ με πρὸς τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν ἁρμόσασθαι, καὶ καθὰ χωρεῖ ἕκαστος ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν κοινωνήσω ὧν ἀκροαταὶ δύνασθε γενέσθαι, ὅπως ἴδητε τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν δόξαν, ἥτις ἦν καὶ ἔστιν καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς ἀεί.

II. Ὅτε γὰρ ἐξελέξατο Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν ἀδελφοὺς ὄντας, ἔρχεται πρός με καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Ἰάκωβον εἰπών· Χρῄζω ὑμῶν· ἔλθατε πρός με. καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός

7 ἠπόρουν] ὑπόρουν Δρουσιάνης] δρουσύνης 8 Ἰωάννης] ὠάννη ἠπορημένων] ὑπορημένον 9 αὐτῶν] αὐτόν τρόπον] τρόπῶν 10 βεβαίως φέρειν] βεβ. φέρων codex: βαραίως (sc. βαρέως) φέρων (ὁ Ιω.) Bonnet coni.: Zahn βεβ. ἐκφέρειν (cf. p. 6, l. 4) 12 <κύριον> Bonnet coni.: Robinson coni. περὶ τ. ἑαυτῶν ἐκλογῆς 13 ἐπειράσθημεν] ἐπειράσθησαν <οὔτε> προσομιλεῖν] προσομιλὸν 15 μὲν δεῖ με] μὴδήμε 16 ἐκεῖνα] ἐκείνω 17 δύνασθε] δύνασθαι αὐτὸν] αὐτῶν

A Wonderful Narrative concerning the Acts and Visions, the which Saint John the Divine saw at the hand of our Lord Jesus Christ: how He appeared in the beginning unto Peter and James: and wherein He relateth the mystery of the Cross. Pray, Sir, a blessing.

I. Those then who were present inquired the cause, and were especially perplexed, for that Drusiana had said "The Lord appeared unto me in the tomb in the form of John and in that of a youth." Forasmuch therefore as they were perplexed and were in a manner not yet confirmed in the faith so as to endure it steadfastly, John said: Men and brethren, ye have suffered nothing that is strange or incredible as concerning your perception of the <Lord> inasmuch as we also, whom He chose for Himself as apostles, were tried in many points. I, indeed, am neither able to set forth to you nor to write the things which I both saw and heard: and now it is needful that I should fit *them* to your hearing; and according as every one of you is capable I will communicate unto you those things whereof ye are able to become hearers, that ye may see the glory that is about Him, which was and is both now and for ever. Ioh. xxi. 25

II. For when He had chosen Peter and Andrew, who were brethren, He cometh to me and to my brother James, saying "I have need of you: come unto Me." And my

μου τοῦτο εἶπεν· Ἰωάννη, τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο <τὸ> ἐπὶ τοῦ
αἰγιαλοῦ καλέσαν ἡμᾶς τί βούλεται; κἀγὼ εἶπον· Ποῖον
f. 52 a παιδίον; ὁ δέ μοι πάλιν· | Τὸ νεῦον ἡμῖν. κἀγὼ ἀπεκρι-
νάμην· Διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἡμῶν ἀγρυπνίαν τὴν κατὰ
θάλασσαν γεγονυῖαν οὐ σὺ ὁρᾷς, ἀδελφέ μου Ἰάκωβε·
οὐχ ὁρᾷς δὲ τὸν ἑστῶτα ἄνδρα εὔμορφον, καλόν, ἱλαρο-
πρόσωπον; ὁ δέ μοι εἶπεν· Τοῦτον οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀδελφέ· ἀλλ'
ἐξέλθωμεν καὶ ὀψόμεθα τὸ τί βούλεται. καὶ οὕτως εἰς
γῆν τὸ πλοῖον ἀγαγόντες εἴδομεν καὶ αὐτὸν ἅμα ἡμῖν
βοηθοῦντα ὅπως τὸ πλοῖον ἐδράσωμεν. ὡς δὲ ἀπέστημεν
τοῦ τόπου αὐτῷ βουληθέντες ἔπεσθαι, πάλιν ὤφθη ἐμοὶ
<τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν> ὑπόψιλον ἔχων, τὸ δὲ γένειον δασὺ
καταγόμενον, τῷ δὲ Ἰακώβῳ ἀρχιγένειος νεανίσκος. ἠπο-
ροῦμεν οὖν ἀμφότεροι ὅ τι βούλεται τὸ ὁραθὲν ἡμῖν· εἶτα
ἑπόμενοι αὐτῷ ἀμφότεροι κατ' ὀλίγον ἠποροῦμεν ἐννοού-
μενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐμοὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ παραδοξότερον τόδε
ἐφαίνετο· ἐπειρώμην γὰρ αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν ὁρᾶν, καὶ οὐδὲ
πώποτε εἶδον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπινεύοντας, ἀλλὰ
μόνον ἀνεῳγότας. πολλάκις δέ μοι καὶ μικρὸς ἄνθρωπος
ἐμφαίνεται δύσμορφος καὶ †τὸ πᾶν εἰς οὐρανὸν† ἀποβλέ-
πων. εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ἕτερον θαυμαστόν· ἀνακείμενον ἐμὲ ἐπὶ
τὰ ἴδια στήθη ἐδέχετο, κἀγὼ συνεῖχον ἑαυτῷ· καὶ ποτὲ
μέν μοι λεῖα καὶ ἁπαλὰ τὰ στήθη αὐτοῦ ἐψηλαφᾶτο, ποτὲ
δὲ σκληρά, ὥσπερ πέτραις ὅμοια, ὡς διαπορεῖν με ἐν
ἐμαυτῷ καὶ λέγειν· Τί ἐστιν τοῦτο οὕτως μοι; καὶ ἐννο-
οὗντός μου ταῦτα αὐτὸς . . . .

1 τοῦτο 1°] <ἀκούσας> *suppl. Bonnet* <τὸ> *utrique occurrit* 3 πάλιν] πάλλιν νεῦον] νέβον 7 Τοῦτον] τοῦτου 8 ἐξέλθωμεν] ἐξέλθωμε ὀψόμ.] ὀψώμ. 8, 9 οὕτως εἰς γῆν] οὕτος σιγῆ 9 εἴδομεν] ἴδωμεν ἡμῖν] ἐμῆν 10 ἐδράσωμεν] ἐδράσσωμεν 11 ἔπεσθαι] ὅπεσθαι 12 <τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν>] *Ita Bonnet et Robinson: ego scripseram* ἔχων <τὴν κεφ.> δασὺ] δασὶν 13 ἠποροῦμεν] ὑποροῦν μεν 15 *forsitan supplendum* σφοδρότερον *post* ἠποροῦμεν 16 τόδε] τότε: *Bonnet correxit* 18 ἐπινεύοντας] ἐπονεύοντας. *Bonnet coni.* ἐπιμύοντας *uel* ἀπομ. 20 ἐμφαίνεται] *Bonnet coni.* ἐφαίνετο: *conf.* ἐδέχεται *l.* 22 καὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέπων] *cod.* καὶ τὸ π^{ἀν} | *etc. locus obscurus: forsit.* καὶ τότε πάλιν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέπων: *collat. p.* 6, *ll.* 13 *sqq.* 21 ἀνακείμενον] ἀνακειμὲν 22 ἐδέχετο] ἐδέχεται 23 ἁπαλὰ] ἁπαλλὰ 24 σκληρὰ] σκληραὶ 25 λέγειν] λέγει 26 *post* αὐτὸς *exciderunt aliqua uerba Domini: spatium in cod. quasi quinque uel sex literarum*

brother <hearing> that, said "John, what would this child have, that called to us upon the shore?" And I said "What child?" And he *said* to me again "The one that is beckoning to us." And I answered "Because of our long watch, which we have kept at sea thou seest not *aright*, my brother James: but seest thou not the man that standeth *there*, fair and comely and of a cheerful countenance?" But he said to me "Him I see not, brother: but let us go forth, and we shall see what he would have (*or* what it meaneth)." And so, when we had brought the ship to land, we saw Him also helping along with us to settle the ship. And when we departed from the place, wishing to follow Him, again He was seen of me as having a head rather bald, but a thick and flowing beard: but to James *He appeared as* a youth whose beard was newly come. We were therefore perplexed, both of us, as to what that should mean which we had seen; *and* then as we followed Him both of us by little and little became <more> perplexed as we thought upon the matter. Yet unto me there appeared this, which was still more wonderful: for I would try to see Him in private, and I never at any time saw His eyes closing, but only open. And oftentimes He appeared to me as a small man and uncomely and †then again as one reaching to heaven†. Also there was in Him another marvel: when I sat at meat He would take me upon His own breast, and I would consider with myself; and sometimes His breast was felt of me to be smooth and tender, and sometimes hard, like stones, so that I was perplexed in myself and said "Wherefore is this so unto me?" And as I was thinking on these things, He...

III. Ἄλλοτε δέ ποτε παραλαμβάνει με <καὶ> Ἰάκωβον
f. 52 b καὶ Πέτρον | εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὅπου ἦν αὐτῷ ἔθος εὔχεσθαι· καὶ εἴδομεν <ἐν> αὐτῷ φῶς τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἐστὶν δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ χρώμενον λόγῳ φθαρτῷ ἐκφέρειν οἷον ἦν.

IV. Πάλιν ὁμοίως ἀνάγει ἡμᾶς τοὺς τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ὄρος, λέγων: Ἔλθατε σὺν ἐμοί. ἡμεῖς δὲ πάλιν ἐπορεύθημεν· καὶ ὁρῶμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ διαστήματος εὐχόμενον. ἐγὼ δὲ οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐφίλει με, ἠρέμα ὡς μὴ ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ ἐγγίζω αὐτῷ καὶ ἵσταμαι ἀφορῶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσθια αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁρῶ αὐτὸν ἱμάτια μὲν μηδὲ ὅλως ἠμφιεσμένον, γυμνὸν δὲ τούτων ὁρώμενον ὑφ' ἡμῶν· ἄνθρωπον δὲ οὐδὲ ὅλως· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόδας πάσης χιόνος λευκοτέρους, ὡς καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην καταλάμπεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ποδῶν· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐρειδομένην· ὡς φοβηθέντα με κραυγάσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπιστραφέντα μικρὸν ἄνθρωπον ὀφθῆναι, καὶ κρατήσαντά μου τὸ γένειον ἀνασπάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν μοι· Ἰωάννη, μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος, ἀλλὰ πιστός, καὶ μὴ περίεργος. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Τί γὰρ ἐποίησα, κύριε; λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, οὕτως πεπόνηκα τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, ὅθεν μου τοῦ γενείου ἐλάβετο, ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, ὥστε με εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ· Κύριε, εἰ τὸ τίλμα σου παίζοντος τοιαύτην ἀλγηδόνα πεποίηκεν, τί εἰ ῥαπίσμασίν με ἔλαβες; καὶ αὐτός μοι εἶπεν· Σὸν λοιπὸν ἔστω μὴ πειράζειν τὸν ἀπείραστον.

V. Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ἐμοῦ ὁμιλοῦντος τῷ κυρίῳ ἠγανάκτουν διανευόμενοί μοι ὅπως παραγένωμαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀπολιπὼν μόνον τὸν κύριον. καὶ ἐπορεύθην, καὶ εἶπόν μοι ἀμφότεροι· Ὁ τῷ κυρίῳ προσομιλῶν μένοντι
f. 53 a ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕψους τίς ἦν; | καὶ γὰρ ἠκροώμεθα ἀμφοτέρων λαλούντων. καὶ συννοήσας τὴν πολλὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ καὶ

4 χρώμενον] *fors. legendum* χρωμένῳ 8 ὡς μὴ ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ] ὡς μὴ ὁρόντες αὐτός αὐτοῦ 11 τούτων] τοῦτον 12 πάσης] ποίας *cod.*: πάσης *Rob.*: ποίας <οὐ> *aut delet Bonnet* 16 κρατήσαντα] κρατίσαντος 20 τριάκοντα] τριάκον 21 εἰ τὸ τίλμα σου] *Ita Bonnet praeclare: ego conieceram* εἰ τότε ἅμα σου. *codex habet* εἴ τοτί· ἅμα σου 22 τί εἰ ῥαπίσμασίν με ἔλαβες] *cod.* τί ἡραπησμασίν μοι ἔλαβες. *Bonnet sugg.* ἔβαλες 23 ἔστω] *cod.* εἴ· τὸν. *Bonnet* ἤτω *uel* ἐστὶν *uel* τέκνον 24 Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος] πέτρου κ. ἰακόβου 25 ἠγαν.] ἠγανάκτων διανευόμενοι] διανεβόμενοι 26 μόνον τὸν κύριον] μόνω τῷ κ̄ῳ̄ 27 μένοντι] γένον: μένων *Bonnet*, γενομένῳ *Robinson* 28 τίς ἦν] τίς ε ἠκροώμεθα] ἠκροούμεθα 29 συννοήσας] συνόησας

III. At another time He taketh me <and> James and Peter into the mountain where His custom was to pray: and we beheld <in> Him such a light as it is not possible for a man that useth corruptible speech to tell what it was like.

IV. Again in like manner He leadeth us three up into the mountain, saying "Come ye with Me." And we again went: and we behold Him at a distance praying. Now therefore I, because He loved me, drew nigh unto Him softly as though He should not see, and stood looking upon His hinder parts. And I beheld Him that He was not in any wise clad with garments, but was seen of us naked thereof, and not in any wise as a man: and His feet whiter than any snow, so that the ground there was lighted up by His feet: and His head reaching unto the heaven; so that I was afraid and cried out, and He turned and appeared as a man of small stature, and took hold upon my beard and pulled it and said unto me "John, be not unbelieving, but believing, and not a busybody." And I said unto Him "But what have I done, Lord?" And I tell you, brethren, I suffered so great pain in that place where He took hold upon my beard, for thirty days, that I said unto Him, "Lord, if Thy twitch when Thou wast in sport hath given me so great pain, what were it if Thou hadst given me a buffet?" And He said unto me "Let it be thine from henceforth not to tempt Him who is not to be tempted."

V. But Peter and James were wroth because I spake with the Lord, and beckoned unto me that I should come unto them, and leave the Lord alone. And I went, and they both said unto me "He that was speaking with the Lord when He was upon the top *of the Mount*, who was He?

πολυπρόσωπον ἐνότητα καὶ σοφίαν ἄληκτον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέπουσαν εἶπον· Μαθήσεσθε αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐξετάσαντες.

VI. Πάλιν ποτὲ ἡμῶν πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς Γεννησαρὲτ ἐν ἑνὶ καθευδόντων οἴκῳ, ἐγὼ μόνος †ἀπὸ τὸ ἱμάτιον† ἐντυλιξάμενος ἐπετήρουν τί πράσσει· καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ πρῶτον λέγοντος αὐτοῦ· Ἰωάννη, κάθευδε. κἀγὼ τότε προσποιησάμενος τὸν καθεύδοντα εἶδον ἄλλον ὅμοιον αὐτὸν κατελθόντα τινά, οὗ καὶ ἠκροασάμην λέγοντος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Ἰησοῦ, οὓς ἐξελέξω, ἔτι σοι ἀπιστοῦσιν; καὶ ὁ κύριός μου εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Καλῶς λέγεις· ἄνθρωποι γάρ εἰσιν.

VII. Ἑτέραν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξαν ἐρῶ, ἀδελφοί· *ποτὲ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, ἐν ὑλώδει καὶ παχεῖ σώματι προσέβαλλον· ἄλλοτε δέ ποτε πάλιν ψηλαφῶντός μου αὐτόν, ἄϋλον ἦν καὶ ἀσώματον τὸ ὑποκείμενον, καὶ ὡς μηδὲ ὅλως ὄν.

VIII. Εἰ δὲ ὑπό τινός ποτε τῶν Φαρισαίων κληθεὶς εἰς κλῆσιν ἐπορεύετο, συναπῄειμεν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἑκάστῳ παρετίθετο ἄρτος εἷς ὑπὸ τοῦ κεκληκότος, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανεν ἕνα· τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ εὐλογῶν διεμέριζεν ἡμῖν· κἀγὼ ἐκ τοῦ βραχέος ἕκαστος ἐχορτάζετο, καὶ οἱ ἄρτοι ἡμῶν ὁλόκληροι ἐφυλάττοντο, ὥστε ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς καλοῦντας αὐτόν.

1 πολυπρόσωπον] πολλυπρ. ἄληκτον] ἀλϊκτον 2 Μαθήσεσθε αὐτὸ τοῦτο] μαθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ· τοῦτο 5 καθευδόντων] καθευδῶν τῷ 5, 6 ἀπὸ τὸ ἱμάτιον] *fort.* ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ 9 κατελθόντα] καθεύδοντα οὗ καὶ ἠκρ.] οὐκηκροασάμην 9, 10 τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Ἰησοῦ] τῶ κω μου ιυ· *cod.*: τῷ κ. μου Ἰησοῦ· *Robinson* 10 ἀπιστοῦσιν;] ἀπιστοῦσιν. *cod., Bonnet, Robinson* 11 ἄνθρωποι] ανοσ 13 ἐρῶ] ὁρῶ *ποτὲ] *Hic incipit fragmentum I. apud Zahn* 14 παχεῖ σώματι] πάσχει σώματος 15 προσέβαλλον] προσέβαλον 18 *om.* κληθεὶς 19 κλῆσιν] κλίσιν: *et quidem Anastasii uersio Latina habet* recubitum 22 ἐκ] εἰς

Fragm. I. apud Zahn.

18 ποτε *ante* ὑπό τινός *habet* κληθεὶς 19, 20 καὶ ἑκάστῳ—κεκληκότος] καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐλάμβανες τακτὸν ἄρτον ἕνα ὑπὸ τῶν κεκληκότων 22 ἕκαστος] + ἡμῶν ἡμῶν *post* οἱ

for we heard both of them speaking." And I, when I considered His great grace and His unity which hath many faces, and His wisdom which without ceasing looked upon us, said "That shall ye learn if ye inquire of Him."

VI. Again, once when all of us His disciples were sleeping in one house at Gennesaret, I alone, having wrapped myself up, watched †*from* under my garment† what He did: and first I heard Him say "John, go thou to sleep": and thereupon I feigned to be asleep; and I saw Another like unto Him come down, Whom also I heard saying unto my Lord "Jesus, do they whom Thou hast chosen still not believe in Thee?" And my Lord said unto Him "Thou sayest well: for they are men."

VII. Another glory will I tell you, brethren. Sometimes when I would lay hold of Him, I met with a material and solid body: and at other times again when I felt Him, the substance was immaterial and bodiless and as it were not existing in any wise.

VIII. Now if at any time He were bidden by one of the Pharisees and went to the bidding, we went with Him: and there was set before each one of us a loaf of bread by him that had bidden us, and He also with us received a loaf. And He would bless His own and divide it amongst us; and from that little each of us[1] was filled and our own loaves were saved whole, so that they who bade Him were amazed.

[1] Joh. vi. 7.

IX. Ἐβουλόμην δὲ πολλάκις σὺν αὐτῷ βαδίζων ἴχνος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἰδεῖν εἰ φαίνεται,—ἑώρων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαίροντα—, καὶ οὐδέποτε εἶδον.

X. Καὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, προτροπῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν πίστεως ὁμιλῶ· τὰ γὰρ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυ- 5
53 *b* μάσια | τὸ νῦν σεσιγήσθω, ἄρρητα ὄντα καὶ τάχα οὐ δυνάμενα λέγεσθαι οὔτε ἀκούεσθαι.

XI. Πρινὴ δὲ συλληφθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων Ἰουδαίων, συναγαγὼν πάντας ἔφη· Πρίν με ἐκείνοις παραδοθῆναι, ὑμνήσωμεν τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οὕτως ἐξέλθωμεν ἐπὶ 10 τὸ προκείμενον. κελεύσας οὖν ἡμῖν ὥσπερ γῦρον ποιῆσαι, ἀποκρατοῦντας ἀλλήλων χεῖρας, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτὸς γενόμενος, ἔλεγεν· Τὸ Ἀμὴν ὑπακούετε. ἤρξατο οὖν ὕμνον ὑμνεῖν καὶ λέγειν·

Δόξα σοι, πάτερ· 15

καὶ ἡμεῖς κυκλεύοντες ἐλέγομεν τὸ Ἀμήν·

δόξα σοι, λόγε· δόξα σοι, χάρις. Ἀμήν.
δόξα σοι, πνεῦμα ἅγιον· δόξα σου τῇ δόξῃ. Ἀμήν.
αἰνοῦμέν σε, πάτερ· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, φῶς ἐν ᾧ σκότος οὐκ οἰκεῖ. Ἀμήν. 20

Ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, λέγω·

3 *om.* ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτὸν 4 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν προτροπῆς] προτροτροπῆς τῆς] τὴν 5 ὁμιλῶ] ἀμιλῶ 6 σεσιγήσθω] σεσιγείσθαι *om.* καὶ τάχα 7 δυνάμενα] δυνάμεθα οὔτε] ὄντα 8 Πρινὴ δὲ συλλ.] πρὶν ἤδε συνλληφθήναι 9 συναγαγὼν] συνἀγωγῶν 10 ὑμνήσωμεν] ὑπομνήσωμεν 12 ἀποκρατοῦντας] ἀποκρατόνταϲ 19 αἰνοῦμέν σε] ἐνοῦμεν σοι 21 εὐχαριστοῦμεν, λέγω] εὐχαριστοῦντες λόγῳ *codex: Rob.* ηὐχαριστοῦμεν, λέγει.

Fragm. I. apud Zahn.

1, 2 ἴχνος—φαίνεται] ἰδεῖν εἰ ἴχνος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς φαίνεται 3 *habet* ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτὸν 4 Καὶ ταῦτα—ἕνεκα τῆς] καὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔτι ὥσπερ προτροπῆς ἕνεκεν τῆς 5 θαυμάσια] τὰ θαυμ. 6 *habet* καὶ τάχα 8 Πρινὴ] Πρὶν ἀνόμων]+καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνόμου ὄφεως νομοθετουμένων 9 πάντας]+ἡμᾶς 11 *om.* ὥσπερ 12 ἀποκρατοῦντας] ἀποκρατούντων τὰς 13 ὑπακούετε]+μοι *om.* ὕμνον 16 ἐλέγομεν] ὑπηκούομεν αὐτῷ 18 πνεῦμα ἅγιον] τὸ πνεῦμα· δόξα σοι, ἅγιε·

IX. And often when I was walking with Him I wished to see whether the print of His foot appeared upon the earth, (for I saw Him raising Himself from the earth) and I never saw it.

X. Now these things, brethren, I speak unto you for the encouragement of your faith toward Him: for we must at the present keep silence concerning His mighty and wonderful works, inasmuch as they are mysteries and peradventure cannot *at all* be either uttered or heard.

XI. Now before He was taken by the lawless Jews (*the other text adds* who also were governed by the lawless serpent) He gathered us all together and said "Before I am delivered up unto them, let us sing an hymn to the Father and so go forth to what lieth before us." So He commanded us to make as it were a ring, holding one another's hands, and Himself standing in the middle, He said "Respond Amen to Me." He began, then to sing an hymn, and to say:

"Glory to Thee, Father."

And we going about in a ring said, "Amen."

Glory to Thee, Word: glory to Thee, Grace. Amen.

Glory to Thee, Holy Ghost: (*or* Glory to Thee, Spirit: glory to Thee, Holy One:) Glory to Thy glory. Amen.

We praise Thee, O Father: we give thanks to Thee, O Light wherein dwelleth not darkness. Amen.

Now whereas we give thanks, I say:

Ἴδε σεαυτὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντι, καὶ ἰδὼν ὃ πράσσω
τὰ μυστήριά μου σίγα.
ὁ χορεύων, νόει ὃ πράσσω, ὅτι σόν ἐστιν τοῦτο <τὸ>
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάθος ὃ μέλλω πάσχειν·
f. 54 a οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνου ὅλως συνιδεῖν ὃ πάσχεις εἰ μή σοι λόγος ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐστάλην·
ὁ ἰδὼν ὃ πάσχω, ὡς πάσχοντα εἶδες, καὶ ἰδὼν οὐκ
ἔστης, ἀλλ' ἐκινήθης ὅλος, †κινηθεὶς σοφίζειν.†
στρωμνήν με ἔχεις, ἐπαναπάηθί μοι.
τίς εἰμι ἐγώ; γνώσῃ ὅταν ἀπέλθω·
ὃ νῦν ὁρῶμαι τοῦτο οὐκ εἰμί· <ὃ δέ εἰμι> ὄψει ὅταν
σὺ ἔλθῃς.
εἰ τὸ πάσχειν ᾔδεις, τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἂν εἶχες·
τὸ παθεῖν σὺ γνῶθι, καὶ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἕξεις.
ὃ σὺ μὴ οἶδας αὐτός σε διδάξω.
θεός εἰμί σου, οὐ τοῦ προδότου.
ῥυθμίζεσθαι θέλω ψυχαῖς ἁγίαις·
ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὸν λόγον γνῶθι τῆς σοφίας.
πάλιν <σὺν> ἐμοὶ λέγε· Δόξα σοι, πάτερ· δόξα σοι,
λόγε· δόξα σοι, πνεῦμα ἅγιον.
†τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ἠθελήσώμην γνώναι λόγον·†
ἅπαξ ἔπαιξα πάντα καὶ οὐκ ἐπῃσχύνθην ὅλως·
ἐγὼ ἐσκίρτησα, σὺ δὲ νόει τὸ πᾶν, καὶ νοήσας λέγε·
Δόξα σοι, πάτερ· Ἀμήν.

1 Ἴδε σεαυτὸν] *ἰδεσάιαύτὸν : Bonnet coni.* εἶδες ἑαυτὸν λαλοῦντι] *Bonnet coni.* λαλοῦντα πράσσω] πράσσων 3 ὁ χορεύων, νόει] ὄχωρέβωνοῆ: 5 πάσχεις] *fors. leg.* πάσχω εἰ μὴ] εἰμι 5, 6 *Ego sic diuiseram*

οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνου ὅλως συνιδεῖν ὃ πάσχω·
εἰμί σοι λόγος· ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐστάλην·

8 κινηθεὶς σοφίζειν] *Bonneto corrupta uidentur: fors. latet in* σοφίζειν, τοῦ φεύγειν *uel simile quid* 9 στρωμνήν με] στρομνεῖν μὲν 10 γνώσῃ] γνῶ 11 <ὃ δέ εἰμι> *suppleuit Bonnet, optime* 12 σὺ] σοὶ 14 τὸ παθεῖν σὺ γνῶθι] τῶ παθεῖν σύγγνοθη 15 οἶδας *ex* ἴδες *corr. cod* 17, 18 ψυχαῖς ἁγίαις· ἐπ' ἐμοὶ] ψυχαῖσ ἁγίαισ ἐπ ἐμὲ: *Bonnet coni.* ψυχ. ἁγ. <ἐλπιζούσαις> ἐπ' ἐμέ 19 σὺν *suppleuit Bonnet recte: idem coni.* "*uel* λεγε <τὸ ἀμήν>" 21 τὸ—λόγον] *Ita codex: Bonnet coni.* ἐμὸν εἰ θέλεις ὃ ἤμην γνῶναι. λόγῳ [ἅπαξ] λόγον] *fors.* λόγῳ: *nam Aug. habet* "uerbo illusi cuncta et non sum illusus in totum" 22 ἔπαιξα] ἔπεξα: *correxit Bonnet, optime: idem coni.* ἐ<νέ>παιξα.. ἐ<νε>παίχθην (*pro* ἐπῃσχύνθην)

See thyself in Me who speak: and when thou hast seen what I do, keep silence about My mysteries.

Thou that dancest, perceive what I do; for thine is this passion of the manhood which I am to suffer.

For thou couldst not at all have apprehended what thou sufferest if I had not been sent unto thee as the Word by the Father.

Thou that hast seen what I suffer, thou hast seen Me as suffering: and seeing *that*, thou hast not stood firm, but wast moved wholly, †*yea*, moved to make wise.†

Thou hast Me for a bed, rest upon Me.

Who am I? Thou shalt know when I go away.

What I am now seen to be, that am I not: <but what I am> thou shalt see when thou comest.

If thou hadst known how to suffer, thou wouldst have had *the power* not to suffer.

Know thou suffering, and thou shalt have *the power* not to suffer.

That which thou knowest not, I Myself will teach thee.

Thy God am I, not *the God* of the betrayer.

I would keep time with holy souls.

In Me know thou the word of wisdom.

Say thou again <with> Me "Glory to Thee, Father: glory to Thee, Word: glory to Thee, Holy Ghost."

†Now concerning Me, if thou wouldst know what I was.

With a word† did I once deceive all things, and was not put to shame in any wise.

I have leaped: but do thou understand the whole, and having understood it say:

"Glory to Thee, Father. Amen."

Ἴδε σεαυτὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντι, καὶ ἰδὼν ὃ πράσσω
τὰ μυστήριά μου σίγα.
ὁ χορεύων, νόει ὃ πράσσω, ὅτι σόν ἐστιν τοῦτο <τὸ>
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάθος ὃ μέλλω πάσχειν·
f. 54 a οὐ γὰρ ἐ|δύνου ὅλως συνιδεῖν ὃ πάσχεις εἰ μή σοι
λόγος ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐστάλην·
ὁ ἰδὼν ὃ πάσχω, ὡς πάσχοντα εἶδες, καὶ ἰδὼν οὐκ
ἔστης, ἀλλ' ἐκινήθης ὅλος, †κινηθεὶς σοφίζειν.†
στρωμνήν με ἔχεις, ἐπαναπάηθί μοι.
τίς εἰμι ἐγώ; γνώσῃ ὅταν ἀπέλθω·
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σὺ ἔλθῃς.
εἰ τὸ πάσχειν ᾔδεις, τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἂν εἶχες·
τὸ παθεῖν σὺ γνῶθι, καὶ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἔξεις.
ὃ σὺ μὴ οἶδας αὐτός σε διδάξω.
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ῥυθμίζεσθαι θέλω ψυχαῖς ἁγίαις·
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Δόξα σοι, πάτερ· Ἀμήν.

1 Ἴδε σεαυτὸν] *ἰδεσαὶαυτὸν: Bonnet coni.* εἶδες ἑαυτὸν λαλοῦντι] *Bonnet coni.* λαλοῦντα πράσσω] πράσσων 3 ὁ χορεύων, νόει] ὄχωρέβωνοῆ: 5 πάσχεις] *fors. leg.* πάσχω εἰ μὴ] εἰμι 5, 6 *Ego sic diuiseram*

οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνου ὅλως συνιδεῖν ὃ πάσχω·
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8 κινηθεὶς σοφίζειν] *Bonneto corrupta uidentur: fors. latet in* σοφίζειν, τοῦ φεύγειν *uel simile quid* 9 στρωμνήν με] στρομνεῖν μὲν 10 γνώσῃ] γνῶ 11 <ὃ δέ εἰμι> *suppleuit Bonnet, optime* 12 σὺ] σοὶ 14 τὸ παθεῖν σὺ γνῶθι] τῶ παθεῖν σύγγνοθη 15 οἶδας *ex* ἴδες *corr. cod* 17, 18 ψυχαῖς ἁγίαις· ἐπ' ἐμοὶ] ψυχαῖσ ἁγίαισ ἐπ ἐμὲ: *Bonnet coni.* ψυχ. ἁγ. <ἐλπιζούσαις> ἐπ' ἐμέ 19 σὺν *suppleuit Bonnet recte: idem coni.* "*uel* λεγε <τὸ ἀμήν>" 21 τὸ—λόγον] *Ita codex: Bonnet coni.* ἐμὸν εἰ θέλεις ὃ ἤμην γνῶναι. λόγῳ [ἅπαξ] λόγον] *fors.* λόγῳ: *nam Aug. habet* "uerbo illusi cuncta et non sum illusus in totum" 22 ἔπαιξα] ἔπεξα: *correxit Bonnet, optime: idem coni.* ἐ<νέ>παιξα.. ἐ<νε>παίχθην (*pro* ἐπῃσχύνθην)

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I have leaped: but do thou understand the whole, and having understood it say:

"Glory to Thee, Father. Amen."

XII. *Ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί μου, χορεύσας μεθ' ἡμων ὁ κύριος ἐξῆλθεν· καὶ ἡμεῖς ὥσπερ πλανηθέντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ πεφεύγαμεν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὐδὲ προσέμεινα αὐτοῦ τῷ πάθει, πάσχοντος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἔφυγον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν κλαίων ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι· καὶ ὅτε τῇ σταυροῦ βάτῳ ἐκρεμάσθη, ὥρας ἕκτης ἡμερινῆς, σκότος ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς γῆς ἐγένετο. καὶ στὰς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σπηλαίου καὶ φωτίσας αὐτὸ εἶπεν· Ἰωάννη, τῷ κάτω ὄχλῳ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις σταυροῦμαι, καὶ λόγχαις νύσσομαι καὶ καλάμοις, καὶ ὄξος τε καὶ χολὴν ποτίζομαι· σοὶ δὲ λαλῶ, καὶ ὃ λαλῶ ἄκουσον. ἐγώ σοι ὑπέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀνελθεῖν, ὅπως ἀκούσῃς ἃ δεῖ μαθητὴν παρὰ διδασκάλου μανθάνειν, καὶ ἄνθρωπον παρὰ θεοῦ.

XIII. Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἔδειξέν μοι σταυρὸν φωτὸς πεπηγμένον, καὶ περὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ὄχλον πολύν <. . . .>,
f. 54 *b* μίαν μορφὴν μὴ ἔχοντα· καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἦν μορφὴ μία | καὶ ἰδέα μία· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κύριον ἐπάνω τοῦ σταυροῦ ἑώρων,

1 *Ταῦτα] *Hic incipit fragm. II. apud Zahn* 3 πεφεύγαμεν] φεύγημεν 5 *om.* κλαίων 6 τῇ σταυροῦ βάτῳ] τῇ ἀροῦβα *codex: ego correxi errorem ex litteris* τῇ στροῦβάτω *ortum. Ceterum uide infra aliorum codd. testimonium* 10 σοὶ] σὺ 15 ὄχλον πολύν] *Uerba quaedam hinc excidisse et quaedam turbato ordine exstare facile intelliget lector si quae sequuntur* (§ xiv.) *conferat. Ibi etenim duorum ὄχλων fit mentio, quorum alter μονοειδὴς est, alter μίαν μορφὴν οὐκ ἔχει: et ille quidem περὶ τὸν σταυρόν, hic uero ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ uersatur. Itaque hoc in loco ita fere legendum censeo:* καὶ περὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ὄχλον πολύν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν μορφὴ μία καὶ ἰδέα μία· καὶ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἄλλον τινα ὄχλον, μίαν μορφὴν μὴ ἔχοντα· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κύριον κ.τ.λ. 16 μορφὴ] μορφὴν 17 *om.* δὲ

Fragm. II. apud Zahn.

1 *om.* μου 2 πλανηθέντες] + ἢ καὶ ἀποκοιμηθέντες ἀλλαχοῦ] ἀλλαχόσε 3 πεφεύγαμεν] *Ita Cod. Taur.* (lxvii, T *apud Bonnet*); *item tres codd. Vatt.* (834, 1181, 660: XYZ *ap. Bonnet*): ἐπεφεύγειμεν Cod. Ottobon. 27 (O *ap. Bonnet*): *latt.* fugimus. *om.* οὖν *edd. Conc.* 3, 4 αὐτὸν ἰδὼν—πάσχοντος αὐτοῦ] ἰδὼν αὐτὸν πάσχοντα οὐδὲ προσέμεινα αὐτοῦ τὸ πάθος *ed.* 4 εἰς] ἐπὶ *ed.* 5 *habet* κλαίων 6 τῇ σταυροῦ βάτῳ] τῷ ἀρουβάτῳ TXY*Z: τῷ σταυρῷ O: τὸ ἄρον ἐβοᾶτο Y corr^{a} *ed.*: tolle clamabatur *lat.* ἐκρεμάσθη] ἀπεκρεμάσθη σκότος] καὶ σκότος 7 ἐγένετο] ἐγεγόνει ἡμῶν] μου 8 αὐτὸ] με 10 καὶ ὄξος] *om.* καὶ 11, 12 εἰς τὸ—ἀνελθεῖν] ἀνελθ. εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος 16 ἐν ἑαυτῷ] ἐν αὐτῷ 17 ἰδέα μία] ἰδέα ὁμοία *habet* δὲ

XII. So then, my beloved, after this dance with us, the Lord went out; and we as men gone astray †or awaked out of sleep† fled all ways. Nay even I that had seen Him did not abide at His passion when He was suffering, but fled unto the Mount of Olives, weeping over that which had befallen. And when He was hung upon the bush of the cross, at the sixth hour of the day, there came darkness over all the earth. And our Lord stood in the midst of the cave and lighted it up and said, "John, unto the multitude down below in Jerusalem I am being crucified, and pierced with lances and reeds, and gall and vinegar is given Me to drink: but unto thee I am speaking, and hearken thou to what I say. I put it into thy heart to come up into this mountain, that thou mightest hear matters needful for a disciple to learn from his teacher, and for a man to learn from his God."

XIII. And having thus spoken, He shewed me a cross of light set up, and about the cross a great multitude: †and therein was one form and one likeness: and in the cross another multitude, not having one form†. And the Lord Himself I beheld above the cross, not having any shape,

σχῆμα μὴ ἔχοντα, ἀλλά τινα φωνήν· φωνὴν δὲ οὐ ταύτην τὴν ἡμῖν συνήθη, ἀλλά τινα ἡδεῖαν καὶ χρηστὴν καὶ ἀληθῶς θεοῦ, λέγουσαν πρός με· Ἰωάννη, ἕνα δεῖ παρ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι· ἑνὸς γὰρ χρῄζω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀκούειν. ὁ σταυρὸς οὗτος ὁ τοῦ φωτὸς ποτὲ μὲν λόγος καλεῖται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς, ποτὲ νοῦς, ποτὲ Ἰησοῦς, ποτὲ Χριστός, ποτὲ θύρα, ποτὲ ὁδός, ποτὲ ἄρτος, ποτὲ σπόρος, ποτὲ ἀνάστασις, ποτὲ υἱός, ποτὲ πατήρ, ποτὲ πνεῦμα, ποτὲ ζωή, ποτὲ ἀλήθεια, ποτὲ πίστις, ποτὲ χάρις*. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους· ὃ δὲ ὄντως ἐστίν, αὐτὸς πρὸς αὑτὸν νοούμενος καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς λεγόμενος, διορισμὸς πάντων ἐστίν, καὶ τῶν πεπηγμένων ἐξ ἀνεδράστων †ἀνάγγη βιάβα† καὶ ἁρμονία σοφίας· σοφία δὲ οὖσα ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ, ὑπάρχουσιν δεξιοὶ καὶ ἀριστεροί, δυνάμεις, ἐξουσίαι, ἀρχαί, καὶ δαίμονες, ἐνέργειαι, ἀπειλαί, θυμοί, διάβολοι, Σατανᾶς, καὶ ἡ κατωτικὴ ῥίζα, ἀφ' ἧς <ἡ> τῶν γινομένων προῆλθεν φύσις. οὗτος οὖν ὁ σταυρὸς ὁ διαπηξάμενος τὰ πάντα λόγῳ καὶ διορίσας τὰ ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ κατωτέρω, εἶτα καὶ εἰς <ἓν> πάντα πήξας· οὐχ οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ σταυρὸς ὃν μέλλεις ὁρᾶν ξύλινον κατελθὼν ἐντεῦθεν, οὔτε ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὃν νῦν οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ἀλλὰ μόνον φωνῆς ἀκούεις. ὃ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐνομίσθην, μὴ ὢν ὃ ἤμην ἄλλοις πολλοῖς· <ἀλλ'> ἄλλο τί με ἐροῦσιν, ταπεινὸν καὶ οὐκ

2 *om.* τὴν ἡδεῖαν] *lδέαν* 3 λέγουσαν] λέγουσα ἕνα δεῖ] *ἐνάδη* 4 ἀκοῦσαι] ἀκοῦσται 6 ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς 7 σπόρος] πόρος 8 *om.* ποτὲ πνεῦμα 9 χάρις*] *Hic explicit frag. II. apud Zahn* 9, 10 καὶ ταῦτα] *taὶ codex: Bonnet (post* λεγόμενος *interpungens)* καὶ ὃ μὲν 11 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶσ 12, 13 †ἀνάγγη βιάβα†] *Ita codex: ego malim* ἀναγωγὴ καὶ βάσις: *Robinson* ἀναγγελία: *idem* ἀνάγκη βιαία, *uel* ἀναγωγὴ βιαία: *Zahn* ἀνάγκη βεβαία 13 ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ] ἐναρμονία 15 διάβολοι] *cod. corr. ex* διαβολαὶ 16 ἀφ' ἧς <ἡ> τῶν] ἄφεστῶν 19 <ἓν> *ego suppleui* πήξας] πηγάσας 22, 23 μὴ ὢν—ἐροῦσιν] μὴ ὸν ὦ ἤμην ἄλ/λοισ πολλοῖσ· ἀλλ' οτι με ερουσιν. *codex: Bonnet coni.* μὴ ὢν ὃ ἤμην (*uel* ἐνομιζόμην) τοῖς πολλοῖς *et* ἀλλ' ὅ τι *uel* ἄλλο τί

Fragm. II. apud Zahn.

1 φωνήν] + μόνον 2 *habet* τὴν ἡδεῖαν] *lδίαν cod.* O, propriam *lat.* 5 *om.* οὗτος 6, 7 ποτὲ νοῦς, ποτὲ Ἰησοῦς, ποτὲ Χριστός,] ποτὲ δὲ νοῦς, ποτὲ δὲ Χριστός, 7 *habet* σπόρος 8 ποτὲ υἱός, ποτὲ πατήρ, ποτὲ πνεῦμα,] ποτὲ Ἰησοῦς (*sc. pro* $\overline{\text{υς}}$), ποτὲ πατήρ, ποτὲ πνεῦμα: *Longolius pro* Ἰησοῦς *habet* filius

but only a voice: and a voice not such as was familiar to us, but a sweet (*or* peculiar) and kind *voice* and one truly of God, saying unto me: "John, it is needful that one should hear these things from Me: for I have need of one that will hear. This cross of light is sometimes called the Word by Me for your sakes, sometimes Mind, sometimes Jesus, sometimes Christ, sometimes a Door, sometimes a Way, sometimes Bread, sometimes Seed, sometimes Resurrection, sometimes Son, sometimes Father, <sometimes Spirit>, sometimes Life, sometimes Truth, sometimes Faith, sometimes Grace. Now these things *it is called* as toward men: but as to what it is in truth, as conceived of in itself and as spoken of to you—it is the marking off of all things, and the †uplifting and foundation† of those things that are fixed and were unsettled, and the joining together of wisdom. And whereas it is wisdom fitly compacted together, there are on the right and on the left of it, powers, principalities, dominations and daemons, operations, threats, wrath, devils (*or* slanderings), Satan, and the Lower Root, from which the nature of the things that come into being proceeded. This, then, is the Cross which fixed all things apart by a word, and marked off the things from birth and below it, and then compacted all into <one>: but this is not the cross of wood which thou wilt see when thou goest down hence, neither am I he that is upon the cross, whom now thou seest not, but only hearest a voice. I was reckoned to be what I am not, not being what I was unto many others: but they will call Me something else, which is

ἐμοῦ ἄξιον. ὡς οὖν ὁ τόπος τῆς ἀναπαύσεως οὔτε ὁρᾶται οὔτε λέγεται, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ τούτου κύριος οὔτε ὀφθήσομαι <οὔτε λεχθήσομαι>.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν σταυρὸν μονοειδὴς ὄχλος ἡ κατωτικὴ φύσις ὑπάρχει· καὶ οὓς ὁρᾷς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ, εἰ καὶ μίαν μορφὴν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οὐδέπω τὸ πᾶν τοῦ κατελθόντος συνελήφθη μέλος· ὅταν δὲ ἀναληφθῇ <ἡ> ἄνω φύσις καὶ γένος προσχωροῦν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ, φωνῇ τῇ ἐμῇ πειθόμενον, †ὃν νῦν ἀκοῦωμε σὺ τοῦτο γεννήσεται·† καὶ οὐκέτι | ἔσται ὃ νῦν ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὡς κἀγὼ νῦν· μέχρι γὰρ μήπω ἴδιόν μου λέγεις ἑαυτόν, τοῦτο οὐκ εἰμὶ ὅ εἰμι· ἐὰν δέ με ἀκούσῃς ἀκούων, καὶ σὺ μὲν ἔσῃ ὡς κἀγώ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὃ ἤμην ἔσομαι ὅταν σε <ἔχω> ὡς ἐγὼ παρ᾽ ἐμαυτῷ· παρὰ γὰρ τούτου εἶ. τῶν οὖν πολλῶν ἀμέλει, καὶ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ μυστηρίου καταφρόνει· γίνωσκε γάρ με ὅλον παρὰ τῷ πατρί, καὶ τὸν πατέρα παρ᾽ ἐμοί.

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XV. Οὐδὲν οὖν ὧν μέλλουσιν λέγειν περὶ ἐμοῦ ἔπαθα· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἔδειξά σοι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς χορεύων, μυστήριον βούλομαι καλεῖσθαι· ὃ γὰρ σὺ ὁρᾷς, τοῦτο ἐγώ σοι ἔδειξα· ὃ δὲ εἰμί, τοῦτο ἐγὼ μόνος οἶδα, ἄλλος οὐδείς· τὸ οὖν ἐμὸν ἔα με ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ σὸν δι᾽ ἐμοῦ ὁρᾶν, ἐμὲ δὲ ὄντως ὁρᾶν, οὐχ ὃ ἔφην ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὃ σὺ δύνῃ γνωρίζειν, συγγενὴς ὤν. ἀκούεις με παθόντα, καὶ οὐκ ἔπαθον· μὴ

3 <οὔτε λεχθήσομαι>] *Et Bonnet et ego suppleuimus* 7 ἀναληφθῇ <ἡ> ἄνω φύσις] ἀναληφθῆ· ἄνω̄ φύσισ *codex: Bonnet* ἀνθρώπου φύσις: *sed patet hic τῇ κατωτικῇ φύσει aliquid opponi; quid autem, nisi ἡ ἄνω φύσις?* 8 ἐμῇ πειθόμενον] ἐμοὶ πηθωμενων 9 †ὃν—γεννήσεται†] *Ita codex: Bonnet coni.* ὃ νῦν οὔπω ἔστιν τοῦτο γενήσεται: *ego malo* οὐ νῦν ἀκοῦον με, ὡς σὺ τοῦτο γενήσεται, *collatis quae sequuntur: constat enim genus hoc mixtum in superiores partes trahi* διὰ τοῦ ἀκούειν *Christi uocem, et simili ratione ipsum Iohannem in melius crescere* 12 καὶ σὺ μὲν ἔσῃ ὡς κἀγώ] καὶ σοὶ μὲν ἑωσ καγὼ *codex* 13 ὅταν σε <ἔχω> ὡς ἐγὼ] ὁτᾶν σε ὡσ ἐγὼ *codex: Bonnet coni.* ὅταν σε εἰσαγάγω παρ᾽ ἐμαυτόν 14 τούτου] τοῦ/τοῦτο τῶν οὖν] τὸν νοῦν 19 ὃ γὰρ σὺ ὁρᾷς] ὦ γὰρ εἰ σὺ ὡρὰσ *codex: ego correxi: Bonnet corruptelam ita irrepsisse censet* σὺ, ἐσὺ, εἰσὺ 21 ἔα] ἐ/αἔ 21, 22 ὁρᾶν (*bis*)] *forsitan* ὅρα 22 οὐχ ὃ ἔφην] οὐ ἔφην *codex: correxit Bonnet* 22, 23 ἀλλ᾽ ὃ σὺ δύνῃ γνωρίζειν, συγγενὴς ὤν] ἀλλ᾽ ο σὺ δὲ νυγνωρίζειν · σὺγγενεῖσ ὸν *codex: Bonnet correxit optime: ego prius* ἀλλ᾽ ὅ σε δεῖ νῦν γνωρ. *postea* ἄλλο σὺ δὲ νῦν γνώριζε

vile and not worthy of Me. As therefore the place of rest is neither seen nor spoken of, much more shall I, the Lord of that place, be neither seen <nor spoken of>.

XIV. Now the multitude of one aspect that is about the Cross is the lower nature: and those whom thou seest in the Cross, even if they have not one form, *it is because* not yet hath every member of Him that came down been comprehended. But when the upper nature shall be taken up, and the race which is repairing to Me, in obedience to My voice, †then that which now hears Me not shall become as thou art†; and shall no longer be what it now is, but above them, as I am now. For so long as thou callest not thyself Mine, I am not that which I am. But if hearing thou hearkenest unto Me, then shalt thou be as I am, and I shall be what I was, when I <have> thee as I am with Myself. For from this thou art. Care not therefore for the many, and them that are outside the mystery despise: for know thou that I am wholly with the Father, and the Father with Me.

XV. Nothing therefore of the things which they will say of Me have I suffered: nay, that suffering also which I shewed unto thee and unto the rest in the dance, I will that it be called a mystery. For what thou seest, that did I shew thee: but what I am, that I alone know, and none else. Let Me therefore keep that which is Mine own, and that which is thine behold thou through Me, and behold Me in truth that I am, not what I said, but what thou art able to know, because thou art akin *thereto*. Thou hearest that I suffered, yet I suffered not: that I suffered not, yet

παθόντα, καὶ ἔπαθον· νυγέντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπλήγην· κρεμασθέντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐκρεμάσθην· αἷμα ἐξ ἐμοῦ ῥεύσαντα, καὶ οὐκ ἔρευσεν· καὶ ἁπλῶς ἃ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν περὶ ἐμοῦ, ταῦτα μὴ ἐσχηκέναι, ἃ δὲ μὴ λέγουσιν, ἐκεῖνα πεπονθέναι· τίνα δέ ἐστιν αἰνίσσομαί σοι· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι συνήσεις· νόησον οὖν με λόγου αἴνεσιν, λόγου νύξιν, λόγου αἷμα, λόγου τραῦμα, λόγου ἐξάρτησιν, λόγου πάθος, λόγου πῆξιν, λόγου θάνατον· καὶ οὕτως χωρίσας ἄνθρωπον λέγω· τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτον λόγον νόησον, εἶτα κύριον νοήσεις, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον τρίτον, καὶ τὸ τί πέπονθεν.

XVI. Ταῦτα εἰρηκότος πρός με, καὶ ἕτερα ἃ οὐκ οἶδα εἰπεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς θέλει, ἀνελήφθη, μηδενὸς αὐτὸν θεασαμένου τῶν ὄχλων· καὶ <κατ>ελθόντος μου κατεγέλων ἐκείνων ἁπάντων, εἰρηκότος πρός με ἅπερ εἰρήκασιν περὶ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο μόνον κρατύνων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι συμβολικῶς πάντα ὁ
f. 55 b κύριος ἐπραγματεύσατο | καὶ οἰκονομικῶς εἰς ἀνθρώπους, <πρὸς> ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν.

XVII. Θεασάμενοι οὖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν τοῦ κυρίου χάριν καὶ στοργὴν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, προσκυνῶμεν αὐτῷ ἐλεηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μὴ δακτύλοις, μηδὲ στόμασιν, μηδὲ γλώσσῃ, <μηδὲ> μηδενὶ ὅλως σωματικῷ ὀργάνῳ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τῇ διαθέσει †αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γινομένου τούτου τοῦ σώματος·† καὶ γρηγορήσωμεν, <sec. marg. εὑρήσομεν> ὅτι καὶ νῦν φυλακαῖς παρεδρεύει δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ μνημείοις, δεσμοῖς καὶ δεσμωτηρίοις, ὀνείδεσι καὶ ὕβρεσι, θαλάσσῃ καὶ ξηρᾷ, μάστιξι, καταδίκαις, ἐπιβουλαῖς, δόλοις, τιμωρίαις, καὶ ἁπλῶς ἅπασιν ἡμῶν συνὼν πάσχουσι συμπάσχει καὶ αὐτός, ἀδελφοί· ὑφ' ἑκάστου ἡμῶν καλούμενος, οὐχ ὑπο-

1 ἐπλήγην] αἰπλήγειν 4 μὴ (sec.)] μοι 5 αἰνίσσομαί σοι] ἐν ὕσσω. μεσην· 6 με] fors. μοι αἴνεσιν] Bonnet coni. ἀναίρεσιν νύξιν] νύξι 8 χωρίσας ἄνθρωπον] χωρήσας· ἄνω̄ν codex: intellige seposita humanitate τὸν] Bonnet τὸ 13 τῶν ὄχλων] τὸν ὄχλον <κατ>ελθόντος] ἐλθόντοσ: ego correxi 15 κρατύνων] κρατείνων 16 ἐπραγματεύσατο] ἐπραμ. εἰς ἀνθρώπους, <πρὸς>] εἰσ ἄνοῡσ codex: Bonnet εἰς ἀνθρώπου 19 προσκυνῶμεν αὐτῷ] προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῦ 21 ὅλως] ὅλω τῆς ψυχῆς] τῇ ψυχῇ 22, 23 †αὐτῷ—σώματος†] Ita codex: Bonnet putat aliquid intercidisse ante αὐτῷ: exspectaueris me iudice αὐτῷ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γενομένῳ <ἐκτὸς uel simile quid> τούτου τοῦ σώματος καὶ γρηγορήσωμεν] in margine legitur, initio uerbi absciso, ...υρήσωμεν, scilicet εὑρήσομεν, quod probo 24 φυλακαῖς παρεδρεύει] φύλακες παρεδρέβει 26 καταδίκαις] καταδίκοις

did I suffer: that I was pierced, yet was I not smitten; hanged, and I was not hanged; that blood flowed from Me, yet it flowed not: and, in a word, those things that they say of Me I had not, and the things that they say not, those I suffered. Now what they are I will signify unto thee, for I know that thou wilt understand. Perceive thou therefore in Me the praising (*perh.* slaying) of a Word, the piercing of a Word, the blood of a Word, the wound of a Word, the hanging of a Word, the passion of a Word, the nailing of a Word, the death of a Word. And thus speak I, separating off the manhood. Think thou therefore in the first place of the Word, then shalt thou perceive the Lord, and in the third place the Man, and what he hath suffered."

XVI. When He had spoken unto me these things, and others which I know not how to say as He would have me, He was taken up, no one of the multitudes having beheld Him. And when I went down, I laughed them all to scorn, inasmuch as He had told me the things which they said concerning Him: and I held firmly this one thing in myself, that the Lord contrived all things symbolically and by a dispensation toward men, for their conversion and salvation.

XVII. Having therefore beheld, brethren, the grace of the Lord and His kindly affection toward us, let us worship Him as those unto whom He hath shewn mercy, not with our fingers, neither with our mouths, nor with the tongue, neither with any part of our body whatsoever, but with the disposition of our soul†, even Him, who became man apart from this body†. And let us watch because (*or* and we shall find that) now also He keepeth ward over prisons for our sakes, in tombs also, in bonds and dungeons, in shame and reproaches, by sea and land, at scourgings, condemnations, conspiracies, frauds, punishments, and, in a word, He is with all of us, and suffereth with us when we suffer, brethren. When He is called by any one of us He endureth not to shut

μένει παρακοῦσαι ἡμῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς πάντῃ ὢν πάντων ἡμῶν ἀκούει, καὶ νῦν ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς Δρουσιάνης, ἐγκεκλεισμένων θεὸς ὤν, βοήθειαν ἡμῖν προσάγων τῇ ἰδίᾳ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ.

XVIII. Πείσθητε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ὑμῖν καταγγέλλομεν σέβειν, ἀλλὰ θεὸν ἀμετάτρεπτον, θεὸν ἀκράτητον, θεὸν πάσης ἐξουσίας ἀνώτερον καὶ πάσης δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀγγέλων πάντων καὶ κτίσεων λεγομένων καὶ αἰώνων ὅλων πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἰσχυρότερον. εἰς τοῦτο οὖν ἐμμείναντες καὶ εἰς τοῦτο οἰκοδομούμενοι ἀκαθαίρετον ὑμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἕξετε.

XIX. Καὶ παραδοὺς ταῦτα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀνεχώρησεν ἅμα τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ εἰς περίπατον· καὶ ἡ Δρουσιάνη δὲ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἠκολούθει ἅμα ποσίν, ἵνα τὰς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πράξεις γινομένας θεωρῶσιν, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον ἀκούωσιν πάντοτε ἐν κυρίῳ, [νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.]

1 πάντῃ ων] παντὶ ὢν codex: Bonnet coni. παντοίως 2 τε] δὲ: correxit Bonnet Δρουσιάνης] δρουσύνης 6 καταγγέλλομεν σέβειν] κατάγγελλων σέβ|βει· 7 ἀκράτητον] ἀκράτειστον 8 λεγομένων] Bonnet coni. <ἢ νοουμένων> collat. Actis Ioh. ap. Tisch. 272, l. 23 (Zahn, p. 241, l. 2) 9 ὅλων πρεσβύτερον κ. ἰσχυρότερον] ὅλον πρεσβύτερων κ. ἰσχυρώτερων 9, 10 τοῦτο (bis)] τοῦτω bis: ego scripseram τοῦτον 11 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν 13, 14 Δρουσιάνη] δρουσύνη 14 ἅμα ποσίν] Ita codex: Bonnet coni. ἅμα <τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς> πᾶσιν, id quod optimum sensum praebet: ἅμα τοῖς λοιποῖς etiam occurrit: Zahn ἅμα <ἡμῖν> πᾶσιν: cf. p. 4, l. 9 15 γινομ.] γενομ. codex: corr. Bonnet 15, 16 θεωρῶσιν...ἀκούωσιν] θεωροῦσιν...ἀκοῦουσιν 16, 17 [νῦν—ἀμήν]] Haec uerba scribae debemus

His ears to us, but as being everywhere He hearkeneth to all of us, yea, and but now *hath hearkened* to both me and Drusiana,– forasmuch as He is the God of them that are shut up—bringing help to us by His own compassion.

XVIII. Be ye also persuaded, therefore, beloved, that it is no man whom we preach unto you to worship, but God unchangeable, God invincible, God higher than all authority and all power, and elder and mightier than all angels and creatures that are spoken of, and than all ages (*or* aeons). If then ye abide in this, and in this are builded up, ye shall possess your soul indestructible.

XIX. And when he had delivered these things unto the brethren, John departed with Andronicus to walk: and Drusiana also followed afar off †together with all the brethren†, that they might behold the acts that were done by him, and hear his word always in the Lord [now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.]

ACTA THOMAE

(Ex Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 10,073, f. 128—153)

Πράξεις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ. Εὐλόγησον, πάτερ.

f. 128 *a* I. Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, συνήθροισε τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Δεῦτε, τὰ μέλη μου τὰ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἅγια· ἐκάλεσα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ κληρονόμους· ὅτι ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὅσα ἔμαθον ἐκ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐδίδαξα ὑμᾶς· δεῦτε οὖν, δῶμεν κλήρους ἀλλήλων, καὶ ποιήσατε ὅλον τὸν κόσμον δώδεκα μέρη· καὶ μάθῃ ἕτερος ἐξ ὑμῶν τὴν λαχοῦσαν αὐτῷ χώραν, καὶ πορευθέντες κηρύξατε ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, ἵνα ἐπιστρέψῃ ὁ κόσμος εἰς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὑμῶν.

II. Μὴ φοβεῖσθε οὖν αὐτούς· πολλοὺς γὰρ κόπους καὶ πολλοὺς διωγμοὺς μέλλετε παθεῖν διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπομείνατε μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἕως ἀπελάσητε τὴν πλάνην τῆς εἰδωλομανίας ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιστρέψητε αὐτοὺς εἰς θεογνωσίαν· μνήσθητε ὅσους κόπους ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν τούτων ὑπέστην ἐγώ. |

f. 128 *b* III. Ἀποκριθεὶς οὖν ὁ Θωμᾶς ἀπόστολος λέγει· Κύριε, ἰδοὺ ἔλαχέ μοι ὁ κλῆρος ἵνα ἀπέλθω εἰς τὴν ἀνωτάτην Ἰνδίαν· πῶς δύναμαι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν εἶναι; ἤκουσα γὰρ ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἀγρίοις θηρίοις τῆς γῆς· κόπος γάρ ἐστιν ἵνα δέξονται τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν σου, κύριε.

IV. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Μὴ φοβοῦ, Θωμᾶ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου· ἐγὼ ἀποστελῶ μετά σου Πέτρον τὸν ἀδελφόν σου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.

4 *συνήθρισε* 8 *ἀλήλων* 9 *l. μαθέτω ἕκαστος* 13, 14 *l. πολοὺς (bis)* 14 *μελλειται* 16 *ἐπιστρέψεται* 17 *θεογνοσίαν* *ὑπερὶ* 18 *ὑπέστιν* 19 *scr. Θωμ. ὁ ἀπόστ.* 21 *ἀνομότατον* 22 *εἰσὶν*] *οἱ συν*

V. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἕκαστον πορευθῆναι εἰς τοῦ κλήρου αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν· καὶ λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῷ Ματθαίῳ· Πορεύεσθε μετὰ τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἕως τῆς Ἰνδίας· κἀγὼ συνπορεύομαι ὑμῖν ἕως οὗ ἄγομεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. [μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἕκαστον πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν λαχοῦσαν αὐτῷ.]

VI. Ἀναστάντες οὖν ἀμφότεροι ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν χώραν· καὶ εἰσῆλθον τοῦ διδάξαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν λόγον | τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἀμφότεροι μέσον τῆς f. 129 a πόλεως, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ εὗρον τόπον τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἐκεῖ· τότε λέγει ὁ Θωμᾶς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Πάτερ Πέτρε, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη πόλις ἐν ᾗ εἰσήλθομεν ἐν αὐτῇ κηρῦξαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· μή ποτε δυνησόμεθα λυτρώσασθαι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν; οὕτως γὰρ ἐδιδάχθημεν παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος λέγοντος· Ὁ λυτρούμενος ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων, οὗτος ἔσται μέγας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου.

VII. Καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ πραγματευτὴς Κονδιφόρου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰνδίας παρερχόμενος διὰ τῆς πλατείας· καὶ θεωρήσας τοὺς ἀποστόλους καθεζομένους ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ, ξένους ὄντας ὑπονοήσας, λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἀδελφοί, πόθεν ἐστέ; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἅγιος Πέτρος· Περὶ τίνος ζητεῖς; καὶ ὁ πραγματευτής· Ζητῶ δοῦλον ἀγοράσαι, καὶ θέλω μαθεῖν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐὰν δοῦλοί ἐστε ἢ ἐλεύθεροι. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος· Δοῦλοί ἐσμεν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἑνὸς δεσπότου λεγομένου Ἰησοῦ· κάθισον οὖν ὀλίγον ἕως | οὗ f. 129 b ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν· καὶ εἴ τινα θέλεις ἐξ ἡμῶν, συμφωνήσει σοι ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός.

VIII. Καὶ ταῦτα λεγόντων αὐτῶν ἰδοὺ ὁ Ἰησοῦς φαίνεται αὐτοῖς κρυπτῶς καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἑβραϊστί· Χαῖρε, ὁ ἐπίσκοπός μου Πέτρε· χαῖρε, Θωμᾶ ὁ δεύτερος Χριστός· χαῖρε, Ματθαῖε ὁ κλῆρός μου ὁ τετιμημένος· μὴ φοβεῖσθε, ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν. καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν τὸν πραγματευτὴν μαθεῖν τί ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς.

1 ἕκαστον] τὼκαστον 3 ματθαῖα· πορέβεσθαι 25 καὶ εἰ τρεῖς
27 θέλει 30 ἑβραϊστί] εὐραίστη corr. Bonnet

IX. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ μακρόθεν αὐτῶν ἐκάθισεν ὑποκάτω στοᾶς ἐπάνω λίθου· καὶ λέγει ὁ Πέτρος τῷ πραγματευτῇ· Ἰδοὺ ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν κάθηται ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑποκάτω τῆς στοᾶς· λάλησον αὐτόν, καὶ ὅντινα θέλεις ἐξ ἡμῶν συμφωνήσει.

X. Πορευθεὶς ὁ δὲ πραγματευτὴς λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· Χαῖρε, ἄνερ τετιμημένε· εἴπερ ἀρεστόν ἐστι τῇ σῇ δόξῃ πώλησον ἡμῖν ἕνα ἐκ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων σου. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ὅντινα θέλεις ἐκ τῶν δύο συμφωνῶ σοι· τὸν
f. 130 a γέροντα οὐ πωλῶ, ὅτι οἰκογενής | μου ἐστίν, καὶ οὐ δύναμαι πωλῆσαι αὐτόν. περιβλεψάμενος δὲ ὁ πραγματευτὴς ἀμφοτέρους λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· Πόσον θέλεις εἰς τὸν νεώτερον; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Λίτρας τρεῖς χρυσίου.

XI. Καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὁ πραγματευτὴς λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· Ἄγωμεν πρὸς τὸν νομικὸν ὅπως γράψωμεν τὴν πρᾶσιν αὐτοῦ. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Οὐ χρείαν ἔχομεν νομικοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ γράφω σοι τῇ χειρί μου τὴν πρᾶσιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν χάρτην ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρᾶσιν τοῦ Θωμᾶ περιέχουσαν οὕτως· Πέπρακα Ὀλβανῷ τῷ πραγματευτῇ Κονδηφόρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἰνδίας τὸν οἰκέτην τοῦτον ὀνόματι Θωμᾶν, ἔξωθεν πάσης αἰτίας. καὶ τελείωσας τὴν πρᾶσιν ἔδωκε τῷ πραγματευτῇ καὶ ἐπληρώθη τὰς τρεῖς λίτρας τοῦ ἀργυρίου.

XII. Λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν Θωμᾶν κατ' ἰδίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρᾶσιν λίτρας τρεῖς εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, Μίαν μέν, φησι, δοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός μου, ἑτέραν δ' αὖ εἰς
f. 130 b ὄνο|μα ἐμοῦ τοῦ διδασκάλου ὑμῶν· τὴν δὲ τρίτην εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. λέγει δὲ Θωμᾶς τῷ Ἰησοῦ· Τὸ ἔλεός σου φθάσει με, δέσποτα. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἀνελήφθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

XIII. Τότε λέγει Θωμᾶς πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον· Πάτερ, δεῦτε ἀσπασώμεθα ἀλλήλους· οὐκέτι γὰρ θεωρούμεθα ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἕως τῆς τελειώσεως τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ὅτε συνάξαι μέλλει ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι

2 λίθω 5 θέλει 7 εἴπερ] υπερ 8 ἀνδρωπαίδων 24 κατηδειαν 25 αὐτῶν 26 δὼς ἕτερον 27 ὄνομαν τριτης 32, 33 θεοροῦμεν ἀπ' ἀλλ.

ἐκείνῳ εἰς τὴν ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐδάκρυσαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, καὶ ἀφωρίσθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

XIV. Περιπατῶν δὲ ὁ Θωμᾶς ἔλεγεν· Οἰκοδόμος εἰμι τέκτων καὶ ἰατρὸς εὐτυχής· ἡ δὲ οἰκοδομή μου ἐστὶν αὕτη· ἐγὼ οἶδα οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱερὰ καὶ παλάτια βασιλικά· οἶδα ποιῆσαι πλοῖα μεγάλα εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ τέκτονος, καὶ μόδια δίκαια, καὶ ἄροτρα τοῦ σπεῖραι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀνασκαλεῦσαι κέντρα καὶ ἀκάνθας, καὶ ζύγια καλὰ δίκαια· ἡ δὲ ἰατρική μου | θεραπεύει πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν f. 131 a ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, χωρὶς δὲ μισθοῦ.

XV. Ἀκούσας δὲ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ὁ πραγματευτὴς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἐχάρη χαρᾷ μεγάλῃ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἀληθῶς τοιαύτας τέχνας χρῄζει ὁ βασιλεύς μου· καὶ εἰ ἐπίστασαι αὐτὰς μεγάλων τιμῶν ἀξιώσει ἡμᾶς ὁ βασιλεύς.

XVI. Περιπατησάντων δὲ ἡμέρας τινας ἦλθοσαν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδίαν· εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ πραγματευτὴς πρὸς Κονδηφόρον τὸν βασιλέα ἀπήγγειλεν ἅπαντα περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ τὴν γραφεῖσαν πρᾶσιν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· θεωρήσας δὲ ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ ἀπογραφῇ καὶ λέγει τῷ πραγματευτῇ· Ἀληθῶς ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ αὕτη θεοῦ βασιλέως ἐστιν. ἀνήγγειλε δὲ ὁ πραγματευτὴς καὶ τὰς τέχνας αὐτοῦ· ἐχάρη δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγοράσει αὐτοῦ.

XVII. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει τῷ πραγματευτῇ· Λάβε τὸν δοῦλον τοῦτον καὶ πορεύθητι πρὸς | Λεύκιον τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἰνδίας, καὶ δότω αὐτῷ χρυσίον f. 131 b ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν μου ὅσον βούλῃ ὅπως κτίσῃ παλάτιον τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ πραγματευτὴς τὸν Θωμᾶν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν Λευκίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι [τῆς Ἰνδίας] τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης· δεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Λεύκιος ἐποίησεν ὡς ὑπέταξεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος <τοῦ> βασιλέως, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον ἀναρίθμητον ὅπως διανέμοι εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς αὐτοῦ.

4 ἔλεγεν· οἱ add. in marg. 7 ἔκτονος 8 μοδ. δίκια ανασστρα ἀνασκελίσαι 14 χρίζει 15 ἡ ἐπίσταται ὑμᾶς 19 ἀπήγκειλεν 21 τῇ αυτῇ scr. ἐπιγραφῇ (?) 24 ἀγορα 28 λευκίω τῶ ἄρχοντι 29 κτήσει 31 αὐτῶ

XVIII. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς Λεύκιον γράμματα ἵνα πορευθῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τάχει· καὶ ἀναγνοὺς ταῦτα ὁ Λεύκιος ἐνώπιον τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ εὗρεν ὅτι μετακαλεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε ὁ βασιλεύς, καί φησιν· Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀπέρχομαι· βλέπετε δὲ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτὸν ὅπως μὴ δουλεύσει εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον καὶ ἀργῇ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πρόσταγμα. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας
f. 132 a ἐνεργείτω ἕως οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψω | ἐνταῦθα· ὑμεῖς δὲ πάντες, ὁ ἐμὸς λαός, ἐπιμελεῖσθε τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν καὶ πάντα τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ὑποτασσόμενοι τῇ κυρίᾳ ὑμῶν.

XIX. Καὶ διαταξάμενος τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν, ἕνα ἕκαστον εἰς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆλθεν· ἦν γὰρ ἀντιμαχόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰνδίας βασιλεὺς Ἀράβων <καὶ διὰ τοῦτο> τοῦτον ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖσε πρὸς πόλεμον.

XX. Τούτου δὲ ἀπελθόντος εὑρὼν ὁ ἀπόστολος εὐκαιρίαν εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· Ὦ Ἀρσενῆ δέσποινα τῆς Ἰνδίας, θεωρῶ σε ἐν τῇ φλογὶ οὖσαν· ἐκτυφλουμένη γὰρ οὖσα θεοὺς ἀψύχους αἰνεῖς καὶ θυμιάζεις καὶ σέβεσαι· οὓς γὰρ νομίζεις θεοὺς οὐκ εἴσιν θεοί, ἀλλὰ κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθη-
Ps. cxiii. 13 sq. τα ξόανα· στόμα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ λαλοῦσιν· ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν, ὦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν· οὐ προσφωνοῦσιν τῷ λάρυγγι αὐτῶν· καὶ πάντες οἱ προσ|-
f. 132 b κυνοῦντες αὐτὰ ὅμοιοί εἰσιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο βούλῃ, τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὴν σὴν κραταιὰν δόξαν λεγόμενα, εἰσέλθωμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀλήθειαν δείξουσιν.

XXI. Ἀκούσασα δὲ Ἀρσενῆ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λεγόμενα ἔφη· Πορευθέντες τοὺς μεγάλους θεοὺς ἑτοιμάσατε ὅπως ἔλθωμεν ἐκεῖσε, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, καὶ ἴδωμεν ἆρά τί εἰσιν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῶν βλασφημούμενα. καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἡτοίμασαν πάντας.

6 ἀργεῖ 13, 14 ἀραβ τοῦτον ἀπεστ. 17 *scr.* ἀνέγνωκεν αὐτῇ (?) 20 οὖσα ἐκτηφλωμένην 22 ἀνεστητα 25 τῷ λαρίγγει 29 ἀφ ἑαυτοῖς

XXII. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀπόστολος μετὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀρσενῆς εἰσήλθοσαν, καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ ἡ Ἀρσενῆ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν πάντας ὅσους ἂν καὶ εἶχεν· ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Σύ, δέσποτα κύριε, ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιεῖς αὐτὴν τρέμειν· σὲ ὑμνεῖ τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ σεραφίμ· ποίησον σημεῖα | καὶ τέρατα ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀψύχων τούτων λίθων f. 133 a καὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ, ἵνα δοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

XXIII. Τελειώσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐσαλεύθησαν τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς παραχρῆμα, καὶ ἔπεσαν τὰ εἴδωλα πάντα ἀπὸ τῶν βάσεων αὐτῶν καὶ συνετρίβησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο ὡσεὶ κονιορτὸς ἔμπροσθεν τῆς Ἀρσενόης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ· ἐξήλθοσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα <τὰ> ἐνοικοῦντα <κράζοντα> καὶ λέγοντα· Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, ἀπῆλθεν γὰρ ἡ παρρησία ἡμῶν σήμερον εἰσελθόντος τοῦ Θωμᾶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου.

XXIV. Ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ Ἀρσενῆ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῆς ἐφοβήθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐτρόμαξεν ἐκ τοῦ φόβου αὐτῆς, καὶ ῥίψασα ἑαυτὴν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ παρεκάλει λέγουσα· Δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ἡ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ <εἶ> ἢ ἀπόστολος· ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἐλθόντος σου ἐφωτίσθη ὁ οἶκός μου ἀ|πὸ τῆς πλάνης τῶν εἰδώλων, f. 133 b καὶ ἡ καρδία μου ἐκαθαρίσθη καὶ πάντα <τὰ> ἐν ἐμοί.

XXV. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει αὐτῇ· Ὦ Ἀρσενόη, εἰ θέλεις ζήτησον τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὑρήσεις αὐτόν· οὐκ ἔστιν γὰρ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν σου· οὕτως γὰρ ἔφη Ἀμβακοὺμ ὁ προφήτης· Ἐγγίσατε πρός με καὶ ἀπολαύσομαι ὑμῶν· καὶ πάλιν· Ἐκέκραξαν πρὸς κύριον, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰσήκουσεν αὐτούς. ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ Ἀρσενόη λέγει· Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ κηρυττόμενον.

XXVI. Καὶ κλείσασα τὴν θύραν τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς ἀπεδύσατο τὴν στολὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν ὅσα ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῆς χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἱματισμόν, καὶ

2 *scr.* αὐτῆς 6 σὺ 12 βασων 21 καιῤῥίψασα 31, 32 πιστεβο

ἔθηκεν αὐτὰ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ καὶ εἶπεν· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πάντων δοξαζόμενος,
f. 134 a σὺ αὐτὸς οἶδας ὅτι πάντα ὅσα ἐκτησάμην ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ | ἐξήνεγκα ἐνώπιόν σου· καὶ νῦν δέξον με τὴν σὴν δούλην. καὶ ἐπιστραφεῖσα πρὸς τὸν Θωμᾶν ἔφη· Δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἄναστα, βάπτισόν με ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃν κηρύττεις.

XXVII. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐδόξασε τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτήν· Νῦν οἶδα, Ἀρσενόη, ὅτι ἔφθασεν ἐπὶ σὲ ἡ βοήθεια τοῦ θεοῦ. περιχαρὴς δὲ γενόμενος ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θωμᾶς ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εἶπεν· Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ ἐπιστρέφων τὰς καρδίας τῶν πεπλανημένων προβάτων· σύ, κύριε, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον σῶσον αὐτούς, καὶ δεῖξον αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ὅπως δι' αὐτῶν γνώσονται τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

XXVIII. Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὴν σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτῆς καὶ εὐχαριστήσας καὶ ἁγιάσας μετέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀθανάτων μυστηρίων καὶ ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς τοῦ προφήτου Δαυείδ, καὶ ἐστήριξεν αὐτοὺς ἵνα πιστεύωσιν καὶ προσεύχωνται ἐν ἁγνείᾳ.

XXIX. Καὶ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς κακῶς
f. 134 b ἔχοντας, καὶ ἐθε|ράπευσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ δαιμόνια ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπήλασεν· ἐδωρήσατο γὰρ χωλοῖς τὸ περιπατεῖν, τυφλοῖς τὸ βλέπειν, κωφοῖς τὸ ἀκούειν· λεπροὺς ἐκαθάρισεν, μογγιλάλοις τὸ λαλεῖν ὀρθῶς <ἐδωρήσατο>. ἐκάθητο δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῆς πόλεως διδάσκων καὶ λέγων· Δεῦτε πρός με οἱ ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ θεραπεύσω ὑμᾶς τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ χωρὶς μισθοῦ. καὶ προσέτρεχε πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου διὰ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ γενόμενα παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ.

XXX. Καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἰδοὺ καὶ Λεύκιος ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως παρεγένετο ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως Κονδιφόρου, καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆλθεν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως πρὸς ὑπάντησιν αὐτοῦ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκδεχόμενοι πάντες καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες τοῦ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν < καὶ

3 scr. ὑφ' ἡμῶν 4, 5 ἐξείνεγγα 15 σεμία 35 ἦσαν] ἦν

τὴν> ἄγραν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς | καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν f. 135 a
πάντες ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην, καὶ πλησιάσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδοὺ καὶ Ἀρσενόη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν παιδισκῶν.

XXXI. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὴν Λεύκιος [καὶ] οὐ φοροῦσαν τὰ κόσμια αὐτῆς ἐταράχθη· ἦν γὰρ ἐνδεδυμένη στολὴν ῥυπαράν· καί φησιν πρὸς ἕνα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ· Πῶς ἔχει ὁ οἶκός μου; μὴ ἐσυλήθη τι ἐξ αὐτοῦ; ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ κυρία σου ἐν στυγνῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ῥυπαροῖς ἀμφιάσμασιν ἐξέρχεται συναντῆσαί μοι. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐχί, τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ τῇ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν σοι βοηθούσῃ· ἀλλὰ καλῶς· καὶ πάντα <τὰ> σὰ ἐτριπλασίασαν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ κράτος τὸ σὸν ἐπ' ἄλλης διέτριβεν.

XXXII. Ὁ δὲ εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει [καὶ] ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ λοετρῷ· καὶ ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἦλθον πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει προσκομίζοντες αὐτῷ δῶρα καὶ συγχαίροντες αὐτῷ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάθισεν μετ' αὐτῶν ἄριστον | ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἤσθιον ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν f. 135 b
ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.

XXXIII. Ἑσπέρας δὲ γενομένης εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἀνεκλίθη ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐζήτησεν Ἀρσενόην τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· τῆς δὲ ἐλθούσης ἐκράτησεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς καί φησι· Ἀποδυσαμένη τὰ ἱμάτια σου ἀνακλίθητι καὶ αὐτὴ μετ' ἐμοῦ. ἡ δέ φησιν· Δέομαί σου, κύριέ μου, ἀπόρριψον ἀπό σου τὴν μέριμναν τῆς σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, τὴν μὴ ἔχουσαν ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ, μάλιστα ὅτι κυριακή ἐστιν καὶ ὅτε εὔχρηστον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀναστασίμῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐργάσασθαί τι κακόν.

XXXIV. Ἀκούσας δὲ Λεύκιος τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐταράχθη καί φησιν· Πόθεν οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι, ὦ Ἀρσενῆ; οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν οὐδὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς· οὐαί σοι δέ, ὅτι ἐπλανήθης ἐκ τοῦ δούλου οὗ ἔασα μετά σου, τοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι ἰατρός ἐστιν.

XXXV. Ἡ δὲ ὑψώσασα τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῆς ἔφη· Μὴ

1 ϒ αγρ^α ἔτι] scr. εἴτι (?) 6 ἐνδεδυμένην 8 ἐσηλλύθη
9 υμφιάσμασιν 10 συναντισε μαι 11 βοηθουσα κάλλος 18 ἄρεισον
28 ἐν ταῦτα 32 scr. ἐκ σεαυτῆς (?)

f. 136 a λέγε κατὰ τοῦ δούλου | τοῦ θεοῦ τοιούτους λόγους· πάντες γὰρ οἱ λέγοντες ἰατροὶ εἶναι λαμβάνουσιν μισθὸν παρὰ τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀκαίρως, αὐτὸς δὲ οὔτε μισθὸν λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ πλέον ὅτι ἐστὶν ἰατρὸς ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος· λοιπὸν μὴ λέγε κατ' αὐτοῦ τι, ἵνα μὴ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ συνεργείᾳ κινδυνεύσῃς, ἀλλὰ δεήθητι τούτου μᾶλλον, ἵνα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ ἰατρεύσῃ καὶ σὲ ψυχικῶς τε καὶ σωματικῶς.

XXXVI. Ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς καὶ ὀργῆς λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· Εἰ ἰατρὸς ἦ, λυτρώσεται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν βασάνων ὧν μέλλω προσενεγκεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ ἔστησαν αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ δεδεμένον, καί φησιν· Λέγε, κατάρατε, ποῦ εἰσιν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ παλάτια ἃ ὑπεσχέθης κτίσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ; καὶ ποῦ εἰσὶ τὰ μόδια καὶ τὰ πλοῖα; καὶ ποῦ εἰσὶ τὰ ἄροτρα τὰ ἀνασκαλεύοντα τὴν γῆν;

XXXVII. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Θωμᾶς ἔφη· Ἃ ἔφην πάντα ἐπλήρωσα τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βοηθείᾳ. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος· Δοῦλε πονηρέ, ὅταν βασανίσω σε, τότε λέγεις μοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἀπόστολος· Νῦν οἶδα ὅτι ἀνόητος εἶ παν|-
f. 136 b τελῶς· οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ παλάτια αἱ ψυχαί εἰσιν ἃς ἔκτισα τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι καὶ προσέφερον αὐτὰς τῷ Χριστῷ; τὰ δὲ ἄροτρά εἰσιν οἱ λογισμοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων <αἴροντες> καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πλάνης τῶν εἰδώλων πρὸς τὴν θεογνωσίαν· ἡ δὲ ἰατρική μου ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ θεραπεύουσα πᾶσαν
Mt. iv. 23 νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ προσερχομένῳ αὐτῷ λαῷ. νῦν οὖν ἐπλήρωσα πάντα, τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ παλάτια καὶ πλοῖα καὶ μόδια καὶ ἄροτρα καὶ πάντα.

XXXVIII. Θυμωθεὶς οὖν ὁ Λεύκιος λέγει· Ὦ δοῦλε πονηρέ, αὗται αἱ παραβολαί ἃς μοι φλυαρεῖς, ταχέως ἐγὼ διαλύσω αὐτάς. τότε πέμπει στρατιώτας καὶ συνάγουσι πάντας τοὺς ἱμαντοτόμους τῆς πόλεως καί φησιν πρὸς αὐτούς· Λάβετε τὸν γόην καὶ πλάνον τοῦτον καὶ ἀποδύσατε τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ ἕως ἂν βασανίσω αὐτὸν ἐγὼ ὡς βούλομαι.

6 δεηθησαι 10 η ιατρὸς ει 11 *post* αὐτῷ *excidit* καὶ προσέταξεν ἀχθῆναι τὸν Θωμᾶν *uel simile quid* 18 βασσανίσσασε 32 ἱμαντόμους

XXXIX. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἱμαντοτόμοι λέγουσιν πρὸς ἑαυτούς· Οὐαὶ | ἡμῖν· τί τὸ συμβὰν ἡμῖν κατὰ τοῦ f. 137 a
ἀνδρὸς τοῦ δικαίου τούτου, τοῦ θεραπεύοντος πᾶσαν νόσον ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἄνευ μισθοῦ; εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρησόμεθά τι κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὀργίζεται ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστελεῖ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατακαύσει ἡμᾶς· καὶ πάλιν εἰ τὸ πρόσταγμα αὐτοῦ παρακούσομεν, κακῷ θανάτῳ παραδώσει ἡμᾶς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γενεὰν ἡμῶν.

XL. Τότε ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θωμᾶς λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἀναστάντες ποιήσατε τὸ κελευσθὲν ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ὑμῶν. ἀναστάντες δὲ ἦραν τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀδύνης μεγάλης· τότε ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θωμᾶς ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἄκουσόν μου ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ μνήσθητί μου, δέσποτα.

XLI. Ἡ δὲ Ἀρσενῆ ἀκούσασα τὸ γεγονός, δραμοῦσα ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν κάτω καὶ ἀπέθανεν· θεωρήσας δὲ αὐτὴν Λεύκιος ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἔφη· Ἰδοὺ διὰ σὲ ἀπέθανεν ἡ ἐμὴ γυνή· ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς ἐ|μοὺς θεοὺς οὐ παύσομαι πᾶσαν βάσανον κινῆσαι κατά f. 137 b
σου ἕως οὗ ἐμφανίσω τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ τέλος τούτων καὶ θανάτῳ σε πικρῷ παραδώσω.

XLII. Οἱ δὲ γονεῖς καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς τῆς Ἀρσενόης μαθόντες ὅτι τέθνηκεν ἡ αὐτῶν φιλτάτη ἔδραμον καὶ θεωρήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἐδάφους ὑπτίαν ἔκλαυσαν πικρῶς· ἔρχονται δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Θωμᾶν λέγοντες αὐτῷ· Δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπέρ σου ἀπέθανεν ἡ θυγατὴρ ἡμων· ἀλλὰ ἐλπίζομεν ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπικλήσει, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ἀναστήσεις αὐτήν. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει αὐτοῖς· Μὴ λυπεῖσθε μηδὲ κλαίετε, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ ζῇ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

XLIII. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Λεύκιος λέγει τῷ Θωμᾷ· Τί λέγουσίν σοι αἱ γοητεῖαί σου, κατάρατε ἄνθρωπε; λέγει Θωμᾶς· Ἐμοὶ μὲν γοητείας μὴ γένοιτο εἶναι, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου ποιεῖν ὅσα καὶ βούλῃ.

1 οἰμαντομοι 5 ἀποστελλεῖ 8 πᾶσι τῇ γεναιᾶ 17 ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ
33 σοι] σε γοητιαι 34 ἐμῆ μεν γοητιαι scr. ἐμοὶ μὲν γόητι (?)
35 βούλῃ] scr. ποιῷ (?)

[ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔφη·] ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος· Μὴ νομίσῃς ὅτι ἀπέ-
f. 138 *a* σχομαι τὰς βα|σάνους ἃς μέλλω ὑπενεγκεῖν σοι ἕνεκα τὰς μαγείας σου ταύτας. ὁ ἅγιος εἶπεν· Μὴ ἀμέλει ποιεῖν ὅσα καὶ βούλῃ. τότε προστάττει λέγων· Φέρετέ μοι ὄξος τριετῆ καὶ ἅλας καὶ ἐμβάλλετε ἐπάνω τοῦ σώματος τούτου.

XLIV. Τότε ἐποίησαν ὡς ὑπέταξεν αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θωμᾶς ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, βοήθησόν μοι ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βάσανος αὕτη μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐγκάτων μου· εἰσάκουσόν μου, κύριε, καὶ σπλαγχνίσθητι ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου καὶ ἀπάλλαξόν με τῆς ὀδύνης ταύτης, ὅτι διά σε ταῦτα πάντα πάσχω ὅπως ἐπιστρέψω τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον εἰς τὴν σὴν ἐπίγνωσιν· σὺ γὰρ ὁρᾷς ὁπόσας βασάνους κινεῖ κατ' ἐμοῦ ὁ ἄνομος οὗτος· ἀλλὰ δέομαί σου, εἰς μάτην ἀπέργασαι πάντα τῇ κραταιᾷ σου χειρί· καὶ μὴ μνησθῇς
Ps. lxxviii. 8 ἡμῶν ἀνομιῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ σῇ ἠπί-
f. 138 *b* στησα· ὅτι εἶπον ἐλθόντος σου ἐν | τῷ μέσῳ τῶν μαθητῶν
Io. xx. 25 ὅτι Ἐὰν μὴ ἴδω ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων καὶ βάλλω τὸν δάκτυλόν μου εἰς τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων καὶ βάλλω τὴν χεῖρά μου εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω. ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ ἕνεκα τούτου νῦν τὸ δέρμα τῆς σαρκός μου ἀφῄρηται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα βούλεται κινεῖν κατ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ' οἶδα, δέσποτα, ὅτι οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ εἶ, καὶ ἐνίσχυσόν με διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

XLV. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, σπλαγχνισθεὶς ὁ κύριος ἐφάνη λέγων αὐτῷ· Ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε, ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου Θωμᾶς, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πειρασμοῖς σου· ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω σοι ὅτι μετά σου ἔσομαι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς μέλλεις παθεῖν· καὶ νῦν ἀνάστα, ὅτι ὁ μισθός σου πολύς ἐστιν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. μνήσθητι δὲ περὶ οὗ εἶπον
Mc. xvi. 17, 18 ὑμῖν ὅτι Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλεῖτε, ὄφεις
f. 139 *a* ἀροῦσιν, κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίητε, οὐ μὴ ὑμᾶς βλάψῃ· ἐ|πὶ ἀρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσετε καὶ καλῶς ἕξουσιν· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι ποίει, Θωμᾶ, καὶ μὴ δειλιᾷς· ἀφ'

2 *scr.* ἐπενεγκεῖν 2, 3 *scr.* τῆς μαγ. σου ταύτης 5 εμβαλλετα
scr. ἐμβάλλετε ἀυτὰ (?) 8 μοι] με 16, 17 ἐποίστισα 35 δηλιας

οὐ γὰρ βαπτίσῃς Λεύκιον, πορεύου εἰς Κεντηρὰν τὴν πόλιν· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνατολῶν σου· ὅπως καὶ αὐτοῖς κηρύξῃς τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου καὶ λυτρώσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου πλάνης· ὅτι δι' αὐτοὺς ἐκένωσα τὸ αἷμά μου ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ.

XLVI. Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος, ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκαταστήσας ὑγιῆ, ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· ὁ δὲ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν πρὸς Ἀρσενόην τὴν γυναῖκα Λευκίου ἔτι νεκρὰν οὖσαν καὶ ἔρριψεν τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐπάνω αὐτῆς λέγων· Ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, δούλη τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι οἱ πιστεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν οὐ θνήσκουσιν ἀλλὰ ζῶσιν. καὶ εὐθέως αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἤνοιξε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς, καὶ θεωρήσασα τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐπάνω αὐτῆς εὐθέως ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ λέγουσα· Νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς, ἀπόστολε | τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τὸ ἐκ ποίας πλάνης f. 139 b ἐρύσθημεν πάντες οἱ ἀξιωθέντες τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, καὶ εἰς ὁποίαν ζωὴν κατετάγημεν· πάντες γὰρ οἱ πρὸ καιροῦ ἀποθανόντες εἰς τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων πλάνην μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων κολάζονται· ὅσοι δὲ <τῷ> τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίσματι ἐτειχίσθημεν εἰς τὰς αἰωνίας μονὰς ἐναπέρχονται.

XLVII. Θεασάμενος δὲ Λεύκιος τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐγερθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, κρατήσας τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἶπεν· Συγχώρησόν μοι, δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα κακὰ ἐποίησα ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ εἰς σέ, καὶ μὴ ἀποδώσῃς μοι ἕνεκα τούτων. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεωρήσας τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ προθυμίας προσῆλθεν, κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ἤγειρεν λέγων· Ἀνάστα· σήμερον γὰρ χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ τῇ μετανοίᾳ τῇ σῇ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ ὅτι Τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρός με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω. Io. vi. 38

XLVIII. Καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐβάπτισεν | αὐτὸν καὶ f. 140 a ἐχειροτόνησεν πρεσβύτερον· ἐποίησεν δὲ καὶ διακόνους καὶ ἀναγνώστας καὶ ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἁγίαν ἀναφορὰν καὶ τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια· καὶ ποιήσας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Κεντηρὰν τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεός.

3 λυτρώσεις 7 ὑγιῆ] ηγειη 8 ἀρσενοῆ 17 οἱ ἀξιωθ.] ἠσαξιωθ.
21 αιωνιαμονας 22 γυναῖκαν 30 ἐκβάλλω

XLIX. Καὶ εἰσερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὑπήντησεν γέροντα κλαίοντα καὶ ὀδυρόμενον· ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ γέμουσα κόπρου, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ περιεσχισμένα· ἐγγίσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Θωμᾶς λέγει αὐτῷ· Διὰ τί ἐποίησας τὸ πονηρὸν ἔργον τοῦτο; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· Ἀναχώρησον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀδελφέ, ἀρκεῖ μοι γὰρ ἡ θλῖψίς μου. περίλυπος δὲ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τούτῳ, λέγει αὐτόν· Παρακαλῶ σε, πάτερ, ὁμολόγησόν μοι τί ἔχεις· τάχα ἂν κουφίζει ὁ κύριός μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὴν λύπην ἐκ τῆς καρδίας σου.

L. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ γέρων λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐγὼ ἔσχον
f. 140 b υἱοὺς ἕξ· καὶ ἐμνηστευσά|μην τῷ μειζοτέρῳ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ἄρχοντος· ὡς δὲ ηὐτρέπισα τοὺς γάμους, εἶπέ μοι ὁ υἱός μου· Πάτερ, γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι ὅτι τοῦ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος οὐ συντίθεμαι· ἀπεταξάμην γὰρ τοῦ ματαίου βίου τούτου καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ.

LI. Ἀκούσας οὖν ἐγὼ ταῦτα εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Τέκνον, μὴ λυπήσῃ περί τινων πραγμάτων· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐδανεισάμην καὶ ἄλλα πράγματα ἵνα μετὰ τιμῆς μεγάλης τοὺς γάμους ὑμῶν τελειώσω. ἐκεῖνος δέ φησι· Μὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μου τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν [τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν] ἐάν με ἀναγκάσῃς τοῦ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα, οὐ θεωρήσεις τὸ πρόσωπόν μου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον· Καὶ τί τοῦτο, τέκνον; μὴ ἐτάραξέν τις τὴν καρδίαν σου ἢ μὴ καθ' ὕπνους τι ἐθεάσω;

LII. Ὁ δὲ εἶπέν μοι· Ἄκουσον, πάτερ· τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἦλθε πρός με ἀνὴρ θαυμαστὸς καὶ ὡραῖος ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἶναι ὅμοιον αὐτοῦ· εἶχεν δὲ καὶ στέφανον
f. 141 a ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐ|τοῦ καὶ ῥάβδον ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καὶ εἶπε πρός με· Σοὶ λέγω, νεανίσκε, μὴ ἀκούσῃς τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ λάβῃς γυναῖκα καὶ μιάνῃς τὸ σῶμά σου, ἀλλὰ φύλαξον σεαυτὸν σεμνόν, ἵνα μὴ γένῃ δίαδοχος τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μου· ἰδοὺ γὰρ Θωμᾶς ὁ ἀπόστολός μου ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, καὶ αὐτός σε διδάξει τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματός μου, ὅτι θεὸς ὢν ἐνηνθρώπησα δι' ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα

2 κλαιοντα] κλεων 3 περιεσχησμενη 5 τοῦτον 7 τοῦτον 11 τοῦ μειζοτέρου 17 λυπησαι 23 ἢ μὴ] ημὲ 28 ραυδον 29 σὺ λέγεις 30 μη ανις

αὐτοῦ ηὐλόγησέ με καὶ ἀνελήφθη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς· λοιπόν, πάτερ, παρακαλῶ σε, μὴ ἀναγκάσῃς με, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνω.

LIII. Καὶ ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ἐσιώπησα, ἐμφάνισα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ ἔχοντι τὴν θυγατέρα· τοῦ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθόντος, ἐν σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἀνήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν κατ' αὐτῶν ὅπως αὐτοὺς ἀνελεῖ· οὐ μόνον γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτόν· ὃς ἐλθὼν ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτούς· καὶ ἅραντες αὐτούς | τινες προσφιλεῖς ἔθαψαν αὐτούς. f. 141 b

LIV. Τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ λυπούμενος ἀπέρχομαι ὡς ὁρᾷς τοῦ κλαῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῶν· καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν συμφορὰν περικόπτομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ δανεισταὶ οἱ τὸ πρᾶγμά μοι δόντες ὅπως ἐκτελέσω τοὺς γάμους, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔρχονται καὶ συνθλίβουσί με· αὗται γὰρ αἱ δαπάναι τῶν γάμων αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν γινόμεναι διεφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποδῶσαι αὐτὰ τεθνήκασι, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐναποληφθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἔχων αὐτοῖς ἀποδῶσαι ἑαυτὸν †τοῖς ἀπάξαι βουλεύομεν†.

LV. Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἀκούσας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐξεπλάγη, πὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ θεωρίᾳ, πὴ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ γέροντος συμφορᾷ, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Θάρσει, πάτερ, καὶ μὴ λυποῦ· ἰδοὺ δι' ὑμῶν μέλλει τοῦ ἐμφανίσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Θωμᾶς ὃν ὁ υἱός σου ἑώρακεν· καὶ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου βοηθείᾳ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ δι' αὐτὸν θανόν|τες. f. 142 a

LVI. Ἐκθαμβος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ γέρων περιήρχετο τοῦ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ τὸ μνημεῖον· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ τῆς πόλεως συνήχθησαν πλήθη ἄπειρα ὅπως ἴδωσιν τί τὸ λεγόμενον πρὸς αὐτούς. τότε λέγει Θωμᾶς πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸς πορευθῶ ἐκεῖσε, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα γοητεία παρ' ὑμῶν νομισθῇ, ἄρατε ὑμεῖς τὸ δέρμα μου καὶ πορεύθητε εἰς τοὺς τάφους τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ ταπεινοῦ γέροντος καὶ θέτε αὐτὸ ἐπάνω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὄψεσθε τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ.

LVII. Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸ δέρμα ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ μνη-

3 scr. ἐνεφάνισα 5 αναγγελει 7 μετ' αυτων 14, 15 αἱ γὰρ αἱ δαναπάναι 15 γινομαι 18 scr. ἑαυτὸν ἀπάγξαι βουλεύομαι (?) 22 ἡμῶν 26 περιήρχεντο 28 ειδωσαν

μεῖα, καὶ θέντες αὐτὸ ἐπάνω αὐτῶν—ὦ τοῦ θαύματος— οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνοι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τούτων ὑπῆρχον ἐννέα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑποκάτω αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀνέστησαν καὶ αὐτοί· ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ λαὸς ἐξεπλάγησαν.

LVIII. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάντες ἔκραζον λέγοντες· Μέγας ὁ θεὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν· ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἔστιν
f. 142 *b* θεὸς πλὴν αὐτὸς ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου | Θωμᾶ κηρυττόμενος. καὶ πεσόντες ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ εἶπον· Δεόμεθά σου, δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνακαίνισον ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ὑπό σου βαπτισθέντων καταταγῶμεν· εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς εὐφραινομένους εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν κόλασιν ὑπαρχόντων.

LIX. Τότε ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγῖδα. τινὲς δὲ τῶν παρεστώτων πορευθέντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν εἰδώλων πάντα· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας διέρρηξε τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ λέγων· Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν· οὗτος ὃν λέγετε Θωμᾶς ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα ὑπαρχόντων πλάνων τῶν ἐξελθόντων ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μετὰ καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῶν τοῦ πλάνου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Ἰησοῦ· ὃν λαβὼν ὁ Πιλᾶτος ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν ὡς κακοῦργον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔθαψεν· αὐτοὶ δὲ νυκτὸς ἀπελθόντες ἔκλεψαν αὐτὸν, λέγοντες ὅτι ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τῶν
f. 147 (143) *a* νεκρῶν· περιπατοῦντες δὲ πλανῶσιν | ἀνθρώπους ἀπειράστους γραμμάτων· ἀλλὰ πορευθέντες ἰδοὺ κἀγὼ αὐτὸν..., ὅπως δείξω ὑμῖν τὴν ἀδυναμίαν αὐτοῦ.

LX. Καὶ ἀναστάντες ἦλθοσαν εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν τῆς πόλεως, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ μιερέως τῶν εἰδώλων· ἐλθόντες δὲ <εὗρον> τὸν Θωμᾶν ἑστῶτα ἰασάμενον δαιμονῶντα, καὶ πλῆθος λαοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ μιερεὺς ἔφη· Τίς ἀνήγγειλέ σοι, τετραγῳδημένε ἄνθρωπε, εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, καὶ πλα<νῆσ>αι τὸν λαὸν διὰ τῶν μαγειῶν σου ὧν παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου σου Ἰησοῦ ἐδιδάχθης; οὐκ ἀρκεῖ ὑμᾶς πᾶσα ἡ Γαλιλαία, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἦλθες καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεῖξαι τὰς γοητείας σου; ἐὰν θεός

11 ιδωμεν 19 υπαρχωντων *scr.* ὑπάρχων τῶν 20 τοῦ διδασκ.] τοὺς διδασκάλου 22 ἔθαψαν 25 *fors. excidit* ἐλέγξω 29 δαιμονον τε 32 πλα ῖ

ἐστιν ὃν σὺ κηρύττεις, διὰ τί ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκκλέψαντες αὐτὸν νυκτὸς πλανᾶτε τὸν λαὸν λέγοντες ὅτι ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν.

LXI. Καὶ ὥρμησεν τοῦ βαλεῖν λίθους κατ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ· κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῶν βουληθέντων λαβεῖν λίθον | ἀναστῆναι ἠδυνήθη, f. 147 (143) b ἀλλὰ προσεκολλήθησαν τοῖς λίθοις, οἱ δὲ λίθοι τῇ γῇ· ἰδόντες δὲ ὅτι οὐ δύνανται ἀνορθωθῆναι ἔκραξαν λέγοντες· Δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναστῶμεν, πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν Ἰησοῦν· ἔγνωμεν γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς πλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σου· καὶ μὴ ποιήσῃς ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἡμῶν.

LXII. Ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος ἰδὼν τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῶν ηὔξατο λέγων· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ διὰ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον σταυρωθείς, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ἀποστείλας ὅπως ἐπιστρέψωμεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐπίγνωσιν, αὐτὸς ἐπάκουσόν μου ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ, καὶ δὸς ἰσχὺν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ ἀναστῆναι· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κατὰ τῆς <σῆς> δόξης βλάσφημα λαλήσαντα ὕψωσον ὑπὸ τὸν ἀέρα, ὅπως ἴδωσιν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

LXIII. Καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέστη πᾶς ὁ λαός· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τούτους κινήσας, ὁ τῶν δαιμόνων θεραπευτής, εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ὑψώθη κατὰ | κεφαλῆς ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ· ἰδὼν δὲ f. 148 (144) a αὐτὸς τὸ γεγονὸς ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅτι ἀνάρπαστος γέγονεν, ἔκραξε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων· Ὁμολογῶ σε, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ δεσπότης πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων <εἰς> σέ· ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἀληθινός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλήν σου, ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ ἀφ' ἡμῶν προσκυνούμενοι ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσιν· καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα, μὴ περαιτέρω ὑψώσῃς με, διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ κατένεγκέ με ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς τειχισθῶ τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου σου Θωμᾶ.

LXIV. Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα κατὰ κεφαλῆς κρεμαμένου ἐνώπιον πάντων, ἁπλώσας τὰς

2 ἐκλεψαντες 6 αναστην· οιδυνηθη 8 ανορθῶναι 10 πιστεύομεν] *add. in marg.* ...ευομεν Ἰησοῦν] Ιῦ 19 φλάσφημα ἴδωσαν 29 η ἀφ' ημῶν προσκυνουμεν 34 λέγοντος] λεγομενα

χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀπόστολος δέδωκεν αὐτῷ χεῖρα καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν κάτω· καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔφη· Δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ, βάπτισόν με, καὶ δός μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγῖδα.

LXV. Περιχαρὴς δὲ γενόμενος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὸν καὶ πάντα τὸν | λαὸν εἰς ὄνομα πατρός, υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος· καὶ πορευθεὶς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κατέστρεψεν τὰ εἴδωλα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ γέγονεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν εἰδώλων ἱερεὺς θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου· καὶ διδάξας αὐτὸν τὴν ἁγίαν μυσταγωγίαν καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς τὰ ἅγια μυστήρια, καὶ ποιήσας διακόνους καὶ ἀναγνώστας καὶ στηρίξας αὐτοὺς καὶ εὐλογήσας, ἀνεχώρησεν ἐξ αὐτῶν. f. 148 (144) b

Pergit auctor sine puncto καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀνδρόπολιν ἔρχεται· τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης διέποντος [ἦν] εἰς γάμου κοινωνίαν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ θυγάτριον ἐκδόντος, συνεορτάζειν καὶ τοὺς παρατυχόντας συνέβαινεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπόστολος ἐπὶ τὸ εὐτελέστερον ἀνεκλίθη τῶν τραπεζῶν· πάντων δὲ ἐμφορουμένων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐδωδίμοις, μόνος αὐτὸς ἀμέτοχος τῶν τοιούτων αὐτῶν (*sic*)· σύννους γὰρ ὢν καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσέχων ἐκάθητο συνε|σταλμένος· τῶν διακονούντων οὖν τις ἀπονοίᾳ ἀρθεὶς ῥάπισμα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ, εἰρηκώς· εἰς γάμον κληθεὶς μὴ σκυθρώπαζε. Mors pincernae sequitur (v. Bonnet, *Acta Thomae*, p. 9). γυνή τις ενοι (*sic*) τῶν αὐλούντων | διαπρύσιόν τι φωνήσασα εἰπεῖν· Μέγα τι ἡμῖν ἀνεγνωρίσθη σήμερον μυστήριον. Arcessitus a rege sponsae benedicit et ut castitatem seruet hortatus discedit: | sponsus postea uidet uirum similem Thomae cum sponsa loquentem; qui reuera Christus est. Rex iratus conuertitur | f. 149 (145) a f. 149 (145) b f. 150 (146) a

καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καταλεαίνει καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Χριστιανὸν πείσει (*sic*) γενέσθαι. ὅτι δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τε τὴν ἀρετὴν διαλαθεῖν, ἔδειξεν αὕτη καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον πάλιν πρὸς Γουνδαφόρον βασιλέα διατρίβειν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ οὗτοι τὸ βάπτισμα ληψόμενοι <ἀπῆλθον>. ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐμφανίζεται τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὡς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱκανῶν f. 150 (146) b

6 πάντων 10 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ παραδω

χρονου (*sic*) παραδραμόντων ἔσπευδε μαθεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων, ἤκουσε τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντες (*sic*)· Ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοιοῦτόν τι παλάτιον οἷον ἐγὼ τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ κατεσκεύα|σα οὐδὲν ὅμοιον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πέφυκεν, πλὴν f. 151 (147)
τὴν στέγην μόνην ὑπολείπεσθαι. Gaudet rex et aurum plurimum Thomae mittit. Fraude reperta, | Thomas cum f. 152 (148) *a*
mercatore in uincula conicitur. Frater regis innominatus moritur: eius uisio de palatio Gundaphori in caelis narratur ab auctore. Reuiuiscit, | et Thomas σὺν τῷ Ἀβάνῃ (qui f. 153 (149) *a*
hic primum nominatur[1]) arcessitur. Conuersio regis et fratris sequitur. |

Καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτοὺς πρὸς Μιγδαῖον (*l.* Μισδαῖον) τὸν f. 153 (149) *b*
βασιλέα παραγίνεται ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν τελείωσιν ἐποιήσατο διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι καὶ βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐαζάνην τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Τερτίαν καὶ Μαγδονίαν καὶ Νάρκαν· διὸ παραδίδοται πέντε στρατιώταις οἳ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβιβάσαντες λόγχαις κατέτρωσαν· πρὸ δὲ τῆς ὥρας τῆς αὐτοῦ τελειώσεως ηὔξατο λέγων· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ ταπεινὰ ἐμφορῶν (*l.* ἐφ.) δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν εἰρήνῃ· καὶ οὕτω τελέσας τὴν εὐχὴν παρέδωκεν τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ κυρίῳ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

[1] *In c. xi. scribitur* Ὀλβανος.

The Conflict of S. Thomas.

I append the late Mr S. C. Malan's translation of the Ethiopic Acts of Thomas, from his *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles* (Nutt, 1871, p. 187). The Arabic numbers correspond to the sections of the Greek text.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; one God,

The book of the preaching of Thomas, the Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he held in the country of India, in the peace of our Lord. Amen. For the 26th of Ginbot [*May*].

(1, 2) And it came to pass after the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, that He appeared unto the holy Apostles, and said to them: The peace of My Father be with you all; what He gave Me, give I you; gather together, and part the world among yourselves into twelve portions, and go ye, every one of you, My holy disciples, to the portion allotted to him. And fear not, for I will be with you, and I know what will come upon you, suffering and affliction, from the men of this world; but endure them patiently that ye may bring men back from their errors, to the Truth which is in Me. Remember the sufferings that came upon Me and all that was done to Me, for the sake of mankind.

(3) But unto Thomas the lot fell to preach in the country of India. He then worshipped the Lord, and said: Why is the lot fallen unto me that I should preach in India? For the men thereof are as stubborn as beasts, and they will [shut] their hearts not to hear the word of the Gospel; but, O Lord, let my lot be in this city.

(4, 5) And our Lord Jesus Christ said to him: Behold, Peter will guide you, and he will go forth with you to every one of the countries [to which I send you]. Therefore, O My Apostles, prepare yourselves, every one for himself, to go to the country fallen to him by lot. Peter shall go to Rome, and to the regions round about it, and Matthias to Persia.

(6) Then said Thomas to Peter: Arise, and go with me and my brother Matthias, until thou bring us to our countries.

And Peter said: Yes; and he started with them; and our Lord went up into heaven in great glory.

And it came to pass that after they had gone forty stations, they came to a city where the road branched off to the country to which Matthias was going. And again as they entered the town they sat by the roadside, like wayfaring men. Then our Lord appeared to them in the form of a wise man, and said to them: Peace be to you, My brethren. And they said also to Him: Peace be also on Thee. And He sat by them on their right, not far from them.

Then Thomas said to Peter: Father, let us come into the city, and preach therein in the name of our Lord; for this is the first city to which we are come; if only we might save the men thereof, and turn them unto the Lord. For the Lord said: He that shall preach in a large city shall save many men, and great shall his reward be in the kingdom of Heaven.

(7) But while he was saying these words to Peter, there came one of the king's body-guard, whose name was Cantacoros, king of India. And he looked at the Apostles, as they sat like wayfaring men, and said to them: Whence are ye, brethren? And they said to him: Ask what thou listest. He then said to them: I can only ask good questions of you; for I see you are very good men. I will then ask: May I buy one of you as a slave?

And Peter answered: We be servants of a God, whose name is Jesus of Nazareth, and He will come to this city. And then will take place what thou now askest of us, and He will sell thee one of us: because our own city and all the

regions round about it, and all they that dwell in them, are good men.

(8) And it happened that, as Peter said this, our Lord heard what they said among themselves. He then showed himself and spake in a language which they [the bystanders] understood not, and said: Peace be to thee, honoured Peter, and to thee, faithful Thomas, and to thee, meek Matthias. Behold I know you because I am never apart from you, but I am with you at all times. Lo I am come, as I told you I should, to go before you to every place to which ye shall go.

But that guardsman of the king of India, who then stood with them, understood not the language in which our Lord had spoken. (9) He was then standing in a place in the midst of the city; and the Apostles said to him: Lo! our Lord, of whom we told thee, is come; see, He asked what thou wantedst; and He is going to sell thee [one of us] for a servant.

(10) Then that man said to our Lord: Peace be to Thee, Thou good man; there are tokens about Thee that Thou art an honourable man. Sell me one of these men.

Then the Lord said to him: Which of them wilt thou that I sell thee? This one is the chief of them, because he was born in a great city. I will not sell him. Then that man looked upon Thomas and he liked him, because he was strong in body and powerful; and he said to the Lord: Sell me this one.

(11) And the Lord said: His price is three pounds weight of gold. Then that man gave the money to our Lord, and said to Him: Write me a memorandum thereof, according to the custom of our city. And the Lord said: Thou needest not look for any one to write it for thee; I will write it Myself with Mine own hand; trust Me; for that I have sold this My servant to thee; dress him as a guardsman of Cantacoros, king of India. Then the Lord wrote the writing as the man wished, and He then went up to heaven with great glory.

(12) After this our Lord appeared to Thomas and said to him: Take the price paid for thee, and distribute it among the poor and the orphans and the widows, in the place to which

thou shalt go. I sold thee for three pounds weight of gold, because thou art a servant of the Holy Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then Thomas answered and said: Thy grace be with me. And the Lord having thus spoken, was hidden from them.

(13) And Thomas girded his loins like a servant, and came to Peter and to Matthias and said to them: Remember me in your prayers. Then they saluted one another with a spiritual greeting, which is our perfection in this world; and they gave thanks together with a spiritual farewell, and parted. And Thomas went with his master; but Peter and Matthias went on their journey.

(14) And Thomas's master inquired what his calling was, when Thomas answered: I am a builder and an architect, and I am a physician. As regards laying out a construction, I correct the plans and ascertain the cost thereof, and choose the ground outside a land of thorns and briars, and anything else thou mayest require. As to building, I build temples and dwelling-houses, and long enclosures, good enough for kings. Then, as to my being a physician, I cure the wounds made in the flesh that destroy it.

(15) And when that man who had bought him heard this he rejoiced, and said to him: The king is looking for one exactly the like of thee. (16) And many days after they came to India, where that man went in to the king and told him about Thomas, and showed him the writing written with his own hand. When the king saw him he wondered at him; and the guardsman told him all that Thomas could do, as he had told him.

(17) Then the king rejoiced greatly at it, and said to him: Take that man and bring him to Vecius the judge of the city, who will give him materials wherewith to build me a high tower. Then the guardsman went to the judge and told him all the king's commands, and Vecius gave him all he required.

(18, 19) Afterwards Vecius had to go out of his city to the king; but first he went to give orders to Arsenia, his wife, saying: The man who has come to us within these few

days shall not serve like the other servants; but he shall serve like a servant at his trade, until I return from the king. (20) Then, when Vecius departed to go to the king, Thomas came to the judge's wife and read to her the Gospel of our Lord and the prophecies of the prophets, and said to her: I see thee in darkness, serving these gods of gold and silver; and thou sayest that they are gods; but they are no gods. And what thou doest unto them profits thee nothing whatever, for they neither speak, nor hear, nor yet see; and if the earth quaked they could not hold up their heads, but they would fall and be broken in pieces. I beg thou wilt show me and bring me into the temple wherein thou worshippest them, that I may see their strength.

(21, 22) Then she went before Thomas to show him her gods; and when he saw them he lifted up his eyes unto heaven and prayed thus, saying: O Lord Jesu Christ, [look upon] Thy child, Thy beloved, [and send] Thy Holy Spirit, at which all devils shall tremble! Thou art the Good Shepherd, and we are the sheep of Thy pasture; Thou art Good among the good; Thou art the True Light that shines into our hearts, and all creation fears Thy name. Thou hast sent me to this city; turn to Thyself all those that dwell in it, for Thou art the Maker of all mankind, and all creation confesses Thee. When Thou lookest upon the earth it trembles; and the waves of the sea lull themselves to rest when they hear Thy voice; the birds and all the beasts of the field are subject unto Thee, because thou art Ruler over them. O Lord Jesu Christ, cause Thy signs and miracles to shine over the men that are in this city, that they may praise Thy name; for unto Thee belongs glory for ever and ever. Amen.

(23) But while the Apostle was offering this prayer, the temple of idols shook, and all the gods that were on their stands fell on their faces to the earth, and the devils that dwelt in them cried out, saying: Woe unto us; woe unto us; alas! alas! for our power is brought to an end, and our shame is increased; for there is henceforth no God but Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God. (24) But when Arsenia saw what had come upon her gods, she feared greatly, and fell

upon the earth between the feet of Saint Thomas. Then he stretched his hand and raised her, and she said unto him: O good servant of God, I pray thee, who art thou—a servant, or may be, rather, some god that is come into my house? What is that name which thou didst call, wherein Jesus was mentioned, and which, when called, made the house tremble and the gods fall upon the earth which I hoped would save me, and made them become like ashes? Hide not from me this power which is with thee, O servant of God. From now I will never again serve my gods; when brought up to know God, I will believe in thy God Jesus Christ, the son of the living God.

(25) Then Thomas answered, and said to her: O Arsenia, if thou believest with thy whole heart, and forsakest this world which soon passes away, thou shalt know that gold, silver, and gorgeous apparel are vain show; for the moth eats them. And as to the beauty of body, it perishes; and all they that boast of it soon perish with it, for soon after nothing of the beautiful countenance is found, but the face is all wan and sorrowful; for the eyes are blinded, and the tongue speaks not; for whither goes man that is born of a woman? He goes to his eternal home. Seek God, O Arsenia, and thou shalt find Him, for He is not far from them that seek Him with their whole heart. The prophet says of God: I am the living God, and nigh unto you; I am not far from you, like a worn out garment. And again: Repent, O ye children of Israel, for I am the God of gods that takes no pleasure in the death of a sinner; but rather do I wish that he should turn, and that his soul should live; and again He says: Turn unto Me, O My children who have transgressed; return, and ye shall find God; for He is found of him that seeks Him, and He hears him that calls upon Him.

But when Arsenia, the judge's wife, heard this, her heart was turned to the fear of God, and all they that were in her house believed in God; and many men of the city also believed. (26) Then she went into her house, and took off from her her best things and her finest dress, and she spread ashes under her bands, and she worshipped on her face, giving

thanks unto God, and said: I have believed, O my Lord Jesu Christ, O God of this wayfaring man that came into my house, and that has become my guide to the way of life. Therefore do I pray Thee, O my Lord Jesu Christ, have pity on me for not having known Thee until this day; but now hast Thou deemed me worthy of knowing Thee. Thou, O living God, forgive me all my sins, and the error in which I have long dwelt until this hour, in worshipping false gods. Behold now, I have turned unto Thee, my Lord Jesu Christ; Thou art my Light and my Saviour, for Thou art my hope and my strength; and Thou art He who brought me unto Thyself, and on Thee do I trust.

And when she had finished this prayer, she went out to the Apostle, with ashes on her face, and she said unto him: Servant of God, arise and baptize me in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, whom thou servest.

(27) Then the Apostle rejoiced in her faith, and said unto her: Good woman, behold the grace of God has come down upon thee.

And that woman answered, and said unto him: It is because the faith in thy God dwells in my heart, and my soul gives thanks unto my Lord Jesus Christ, who brings back the souls that were gone astray from Him.

(28) Then Thomas arose, and baptized her, and all those that dwelt in her house, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And he took pure bread and a cup full of wine, he gave thanks, and brake [the bread], and gave to the people that had been baptized of the Body of our Lord and of His precious Blood.

And it was late in the night when he prayed and sang the Psalms of David, he and all the brethren who had been baptized.

(29) Then they brought many sick that were possessed with devils, and blind, and lame, and lepers, and he healed them all. And he went every day into the midst of the city, and preached in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; and proclaimed to them the glad tidings of the holy Gospel, and said

to them: Bring unto me all the sick, and I will heal them freely, for I will take no reward from any of them.

And all the household of Arsenia, the judge's wife, who had believed through Thomas's words, and all the men of the city, became Christians. But the Apostle continued to read to them the Gospel and the prophets, and taught them, and after that he baptized them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and he abode with them four years, until their faith was strengthened in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(30) Meanwhile Vecius, who was gone to the king, came back to his own city; and his wife and all the men of his house went to meet him. (31) But, when he saw his wife clothed in filthy garments, he was sorely grieved, and it seemed to him as if the adversary had hastened to ruin his house and all the goods in it. Then he called one of his servants, and said to him: What, then, has happened in my house?

And the servant said: What? No harm has happened; naught but good, ever since thou wentest away hence.

(32, 33) Then Vecius went at once to the bath, and then returned home and called to his wife, Arsenia, and when she came he spake to her after the custom of men of the world, and as he used to speak to her formerly.

But she answered him, saying: O my lord, behold God has taken out of my heart all such impure doings; for it profits not; and to-day is the Sabbath unto the Lord.

(34) Then Vecius answered in great wrath, and said to her: What big talk is this that thou now holdest? such as I never before heard from thee. Thou shalt not separate thyself from me, except this day when I have been with thee. Alas! May be that servant who came to thee has bewitched thee during these days.

(35) Then Arsenia answered, and said to him: God forbid, my lord. Say not concerning him that physicians do not raise the bodies and the souls. Say not against him one unkind word; but rather hear thou his language.

(36—38) But when Vecius heard these words of his wife, his heart was filled with rage, and he answered and said: If he

be a physician then, and a doer of good works, he will, no doubt, escape the plagues that are to come upon him. He then ordered his officers to bring to him all the butchers that were in the city, and they were brought. And they called Thomas, and he said to him: Thou wicked servant and enchanter, where is the work and the art, of which thou saidst to me: I am a builder; where are the temples that were to be built? Where is the tower which thou saidst thou wouldst build for the king? Where are the instruments of husbandry, the measures, and the scales, thou wast to have made for the king? What work, what art, and what enchantment hast thou wrought?

Then Thomas answered, and said to him: Lo, I have fulfilled my calling.

But Vecius said to him: Dost thou mock me? I shall beat thee, thou wicked servant, unto death.

Then Thomas answered: I know that until this day thou hast listened to reason, without inflicting punishment on me. I will now, therefore, make known to thee the temples and the towers I have reared, namely, the souls that have repented and have believed; these are the towers adorned by the King of Heaven, and in which He dwells; and as to ploughs, harrows, and mattocks, they are the Gospel which roots out all enmity and iniquity out of the hearts of believers who seek the Lord with all their heart. And as to what belongs to the art of enchantment, they are the Holy Mysteries that root out all evil thoughts and all evil lusts, from the hearts of those that receive them, after being thus cleansed. Such is the art taught me by God.

But Vecius answered in great wrath: Thou wicked servant, where is all that which thou didst tell me? And he ordered him to be put in fetters, and to be placed on a wheel on the ground. Then they bound him in the centre thereof, and he commanded the butchers to flay his flesh, saying: I will torment thee, and soon destroy thee as I please.

(39) Then the men of the city wept bitterly, saying: Alas, alas! what can we do for this just man who healed us of our sicknesses? But if we lay our hands on him his God will be

wroth against us, and in His anger He will send fire upon us from heaven, and will consume us. If, on the other hand, we do not what this impious man commands, he will put us to death. Behold, however, we saw great wonders done by this holy man, when wild boars rushed into the fields of an old woman, and all the youth of the place could not drive them away. Then she came and did obeisance to this holy man, and made her request, saying: O my lord, help me in this strait. And he had pity on her, and he went out to her fields and said to the wild boars: Go ye forth from these fields of this old woman, and destroy not her crops. Then the herd of wild boars went away, and the fire came down from heaven and consumed them. We, therefore, are much afraid of his God.

(40) Then Thomas answering, said to them: Arise, and fulfil the orders given you by your master; for I know that you have been commanded against your will, from fear of that insane judge.

Then Vecius commanded them to flay him.

But the Apostle raised his eyes unto heaven, and cried with a loud voice, saying: O Lord Jesu Christ, Son of the living God, help me at this hour out of this torture. (41) And Arsenia, who heard the Apostle's voice, and was looking at him, when she saw them flaying his flesh, was greatly moved, and fell on her face and died.

Then Vecius cried, and said: So, my wife has died by reason of thee, O wicked servant. However, I will for the present turn my anger aside from thee, until I know all that thou hast done.

(42) But when the parents, and brothers, and friends of Vecius' wife came, they wept over her, they cried, and said: Alas, alas! that thou shouldst have died by reason of this stranger! Nevertheless our hearts rejoice in thee, because thou hast died on account of what the blessed Apostle commanded thee.

Then Thomas answered, and said to them: Weep not; but be silent. Since she has died on my account, I will raise her up.

(43, 44) But Vecius said to him: Think not so, for she is dead; and I shall torment thee as I like, and I will not let thee go. Then he commanded that they should bring wine and salt to anoint the flesh of the saint, who cried aloud, and said: O Lord Jesu Christ, help me, and deliver me from this torture! for my heart is burning and my flesh is very faint. O Lord Jesu Christ, my God, pitiful and of tender mercies, remember that I am a stranger here, that I have neither father, mother, brother, nor friend in this city, nor any one that knows me. O Lord Jesu Christ, Son of the living God, Thou art my help, and on Thee have I put my trust; neither have I transgressed Thy commandments. O Lord Jesu Christ, I have hated every thing of this world for the sake of Thy Holy Name; I forsook my father, my mother, and my kindred, and I left all that belonged to me, when I heard Thy voice, O Lord, who didst send me to this city for the salvation of the men thereof. And now look on what has come upon me here. Since, O Lord, Thou didst suffer for me, it is meet I should suffer for Thee with joy all that has come upon me in this city. I remember the day when Thou didst appear to my brethren, the other Apostles, after Thy resurrection from the dead. I was not there with them; and when they told me that they had seen Thee, I believed not, remembering Thy Word that said: Believe not every spirit, for many shall come in My name, and shall deceive many. Therefore did I say to my brethren, the other Apostles: If I do not see my Lord, nor see on His hands the print of the nails, nor yet thrust my fingers into His wounds; and if I do not bring my hands into His side, I will not believe. But Thou didst again appear unto me, and Thou didst show me [the proofs] I sought of Thy resurrection, and I was reproved for the weakness of my faith. And since Thou didst suffer then on my account, O my Lord Jesu Christ, I pray Thee to forgive me; for Thou art a gracious God; receive my prayer, as Thou usest to do to those that turn to Thee with their whole heart.

(45) And, when he had said this, our Lord pitied him, and appeared to him upon a light cloud and said to him: Thomas,

My beloved, have patience and be of good courage; thou shalt overcome thine enemy and all them that rise against thee. Remember, My beloved, that all the sufferings and the fainting which I endured for all mankind, until I had rescued it from the hands of the enemy, are not to be compared with the hour in which I shall see thee and we shall meet together; because thy throne is ready at My right hand in My Kingdom, and thou wast named My beloved Didymus. Endure patiently, for great is thy reward, and high is thine honour. From thy skin shall great miracles be wrought, and thine heart shall confirm in the true faith in My Godhead many people in this city; after which thou shalt depart hence, and shalt go towards the east, and shalt dwell in a city called Quantaria, and there shalt thou turn people to the faith in My name. Behold, fill the whole world with the grace of My Father, and with His mercy towards all creation through My Blood, that was shed for the salvation of the world. (46) So saying, our Lord laid His hands upon the flesh of the Apostle, and healed his wounds, and then disappeared.

Then Thomas arose, whole, and came to the place where Vecius' wife lay, placed his skin upon her, and said: In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and of His Father, and of the Holy Ghost; the Word that raised Lazarus will also raise thee.

Then immediately did she open her eyes, and see the Apostle standing at her head; and she arose at once and worshipped him.

(47) But when Vecius saw these signs and great miracles wrought by the Apostle Thomas, he cried, saying: Truly, there is no god but thy God, whom thou servest. I also pray thee, servant of God, to forgive me what I have done to thee; all the evil which I have done unawares.

Then Thomas also rose up, and said to him: Fear not, for God takes no vengeance of those who repent and confess their sins.

(48) Then, at that moment, Vecius believed, and all the men of his kingdom: and Thomas baptized him, and all those

that believed with him. And he commanded them to bring bread and a cup; and he prayed for them, and gave to all of them of the Holy Mysteries; and they all became Christians. Thomas, also, laid down for them the decrees and institutions of the Church; he set Vecius over them; and gave them all the rules of the Church and the precepts of the Gospel. He then abode with them three days, teaching them out of the Holy Scriptures, and said to them: If it be the will of God I shall again come to you; for, behold, the Lord has commanded me to go to a certain city to the eastward of this. And he departed, and they accompanied him, weeping and saying: Tarry not long away from us, for we are young in the faith.

Then the Apostle prayed and blessed them, and gave them his peace, and then sent them away.

Thence he came to Quantaria, to preach in it as the Lord had commanded him. (49) And when he came to the city he went in at the gate, and there found an old man weeping abundantly, with his clothes rent, of a sad countenance, and he said to him: Old man, why weepest thou? I see thee bathed in tears and in great grief; it grieves me to the heart to see thee in this state.

But the old man answered: Go from me, brother, for great is my grief.

Then the Apostle said to him: I pray thee to tell me what is the matter with thee, that my Lord may comfort thee through me.

(50, 51) The old man then said: I have two sons, and I betrothed the eldest to the daughter of an elder of the city, that she should be his. But when the time for the wedding came, my son said to me: Grieve not for me, father, as regards my marriage with that woman; for I will take no wife; for, behold, I have forsaken this world and all the lusts thereof. When I heard him say this, I took it greatly to heart; but he again said: Now, what I wished has come to pass. He also said: I have sworn by the great King, who is the King of kings, Jesus Christ, since thou hast ordered me concerning this, I will depart into the wilderness, and thou shalt no

longer see me after to-day. And I said: What then is it that thou hast seen?

(52) And he said: I will tell thee what I have seen. Last night, while I was asleep on my couch, I saw a youth of a beautiful countenance, in raiment bright as the sun. And the smell of perfume that came from his clothing filled the place with the sweetness thereof. He had a crown of the Kingdom upon his head, and in his right hand a golden rod. And when I saw him I felt greatly afraid of him, and I fell on my face at his feet, like one dead. But he stretched forth his hand, raised me up, and said to me: Keep thyself, and hearken not to those who counsel thee about taking to thee a wife; but keep under thy body that it be pure, and that thou mayest become a chief of the Church. And, behold the Apostle Thomas is coming to this city, and he will guide thee into all knowledge. He will give thee instruction and will take care of thee, and will prepare thee to receive the Holy Mysteries. Know this, that I am the King who was made flesh for your sakes; wherefore it behoves you not to be idle and negligent of the salvation of your soul and of your eternal life. And, as He said this, He laid His hand upon my head, and then went up to heaven in great glory, until He was no more seen. Wherefore, O my father, will I on no account abandon this grace of God which He has given me, lest that King be wroth against me, and destroy me for having transgressed His word.

(53, 54) But, when I heard these words from my son, I grieved much and took it to heart; and since it was the God of this city who had appeared to him, I came to the men of the city, and I told them all my son had said to me, and then sent them to the father of the damsel, and they told him all they had heard from me. He, too, was very angry with me, and said to me: Despisest thou, then, my rank, and didst thou bind my daughter with these words of falsehood? And then he went to the king, and they accused me, saying that I had stolen property from the temple. And the king sent and killed all my seven children within four hours. That is the reason for which thou seest me now weeping and in distress.

Besides this, the sum that I borrowed in order to give it to my daughter, they now require it of me; but I have nothing to give them. If only one of my sons were left to me I might, with his help, restore the sum borrowed.

(55) But when the Apostle heard these words he answered, and said: Weep not, old man; behold, we shall go to where thy sons are; the Lord Jesus Christ will grant them life.

(56) Then the old man went to the place where the children were buried, followed by many people, who said: If this advice be right, we will believe in the God of this man.

Meanwhile they came to the sepulchre. Then the Apostle [took off his skin], and gave it to the old man and said to him: Take this skin and go into the sepulchre, and place it on every one of thy children, and say: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, arise, O ye my sons, and be alive as before; that they might not call him an enchanter. (57) The old man did as the Apostle had commanded him, and he laid the skin on every one of his children in the sepulchre; and they all came to life and arose, in number fifteen. (58) Then they came out to the place where the blessed Apostle was, and they worshipped him, and said to him: We pray thee, O Apostle of God, to give us baptism, the perfection of life.

And when the people saw this great miracle they cried with a loud voice, saying: There is no God but Jesus Christ the Son of the living God, the God of Thomas.

(59) But some of them went to the temple of Apollo, and told the priest thereof all that had happened. And when he heard the name of Jesus he rent his garments and said: That man is one of His twelve disciples who have come forth from Judæa, to walk about the whole world; they deceive all those who hearken to them; they are the disciples of an enchanter, by name Jesus, concerning whom we have heard it said, that Pilate had crucified Him; and His disciples stole His body, and they have gone into all the world, saying that He was risen from the dead.

Then the priest said unto them: Arise, O ye my people, let us go to him; we will insult him, and tell him that his language is not true, and that all he does is through witchcraft. (60) Then the priest arose, and the people with him, and came to the place where was Thomas, and they found him in the way of the city; the people were gathered around him, and he was casting a devil out of a man who was possessed.

And the priest said to Thomas: What is it that thou speakest in this city, thou wizard and impostor? Did not the land of Judæa, and the inhabitants of it, suffice thee, that thou shouldest come to this city? Who is that Jesus? And if He was God, how is it that He did not deliver Himself from death? Then ye stole His body, and yet ye are witnesses all over the world that He rose from the dead. Take care, for the men of this city are wise, and are not fools, that thou shouldest deceive them. Then he turned his face towards the rest of the people, and said to them: Take ye, every one of you a stone in each hand, and stone to death this enchanter, that he may no longer find means of deceiving men. (61) They did as he told them, and stooped to pick up stones to stone Saint Thomas withal; but suddenly their hands became withered, and they could not move them. Then they all cried with a loud voice, and said: We ask thee, O thou good servant of God, to pray to God that he will have pity on us, and to allow us to rise and to stand on our feet; and we will believe in thy God. Behold, we know that there is no other God in heaven and in the earth but thy God; and return not evil to us according to our folly.

(62) Then the Apostle prayed, and said: O my Lord Jesu Christ, who hast not been slack in performing that which I sought at Thy hands, but who hast revealed Thy glory to this people, that they be gathered unto Thee, I pray Thee to send from on high, O heavenly Power, in a whirlwind to take up this heathen who has blasphemed Thy holy Name. (63) Then he was at once suspended in the air, head downwards, and carried round and round the crowd.

But when he, thus suspended in the air, saw the power of

God, and what it wrought, he cried with a loud voice, saying: I believe in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and I believe in His Godhead, that He is the true God whom I have blasphemed through my folly, and not a god of the gods that are the work of men's hands, on whom men ought not to call. But Thou art God alone, and wast before the world was. For Thou, O Jesu Christ, art the Lord of heaven and earth; Thou art my confidence; Thou art my King, and Thou art my hope.

(64) As soon as the priest professed this belief while thus suspended in the air, the people looking on him, he came down to the earth. (65) All the people that saw him believed in God, and they asked the Apostle to baptize them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and when their faith was strengthened, he brought them to their own temples, and overturned before them the stands on which rested their gods, and they made the temple into a Church. And he appointed that priest of Apollo bishop over them, and the sons of the old man whom he had raised from the dead, he made them presbyters and deacons, and set them over the Church for the service thereof.

And Thomas abode many days in that city, instructing them in the mysteries of the Faith; many miracles being wrought by him, while he carried his skin on his shoulder to every place whither he went.

After this, as he was departing from the city praising God, our Lord appeared to him, and He took a skin and covered his flesh with it, and Thomas became as he was before; and the Lord greeted him and removed his mourning from him, and said to him: Sit thou on this cloud, and it will take thee to thy brethren the Apostles in peace. I will be with you in every place in which you may be; for ye are they whom My Father chose that ye should preach in My name all over the world. Then our Lord went up from them into heaven in great glory.

But Thomas rode on the cloud as our Lord commanded him; and the cloud carried him and brought him to the Apostles, whom he found assembled, with Paul and Mary,

who gave birth to our Lord, among them. He greeted them with a spiritual greeting, and they related the miracles which our Lord had wrought through their hands. And they continued eighty days assembled together, praising God; to whom belongs honour and glory and giving of thanks for ever and ever. Amen and amen; so be it, so be it.

EPISTOLAE PILATI ET HERODIS

GRAECE

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΔΗΝ.

p. 64 Πιλᾶτος ἡγέμων Ἱεροσολύμων Ἡρῴδῃ τετράρχῃ χαίρειν.

Οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ὑπό σου πεισθεὶς ἐτέλεσα ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ προσήγαγον Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν· ὡς ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀπήγγειλάν μοι, καὶ ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς πέπεισμαι εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀποστέλλειν· καὶ ἑωράκασιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ σαρκὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ εἴδει· καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς διδάγμασιν ἐνεφάνισεν ἑαυτὸν πλείοσιν πεντακοσίοις ἀνθρώποις θεοσεβέσιν, οἳ καὶ μαρτυροῦντες περὶ τούτου παρήγαγον, μηδὲν ἐνδοιάζοντες, ἀλλὰ περισσὸν κηρύσσοντες τὴν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ αἰώνιον βασιλείαν καταγγέλλοντες· ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις διδάγμασιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀγαλλιᾶν. Πρόκλα γὰρ ἡ ἐμὴ γαμετή, πιστεύσασα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁράμασιν οἷς αὐτῇ ἐφανερώθη, ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτὸν
p. 65 παραδοῦναι | διὰ τὴν σὴν συμβουλίαν εἰς τὸ σταυρῶσαι, καταλιποῦσά με μετὰ δέκα στρατιωτῶν καὶ Λογγίνου τοῦ πιστοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου ὡς ἐν μεγάλῳ θεάματι ἐπορεύθη θεάσασθαι τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον ἐν χώρᾳ ἐργασίμῃ, πολλοῦ ὄχλου περιεστῶτος, καὶ διδάσκοντα τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ πατρός, ὥστε θαυμάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐξίστασθαι, εἰ ὁ παθὼν καὶ σταυρωθεὶς οὗτος ἠγέρθη

1 Ἱεροσολίμων τετάρχη 7 ἀποστέλλει 9 τῇ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ τῆς αὐτῆς διδ. 10 πλείοις οὖν καὶ 13 ὥστε ἐπὶ] ἢ ἐτὴ 14 οὐρανοὺς] ἀν̄οὺς φαίνεσθαι] ἐφαίνεσθε 18 καταλυπουσα 19 ἐν] scr. ἐπὶ 20 ἰδόντες] scr. εἶδον 21 χαρᾶ ἐργασίμι διδάσκοντος 23 παθεῖς

ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν. διατηρούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κατανοούντων αὐτόν, συνιδὼν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς <καὶ> εἶπεν· Ἔτι ἀπιστεῖτε μοι, Πρόκλα καὶ Λογγῖνε; οὐχὶ σὺ ὁ τηρῶν μου τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον; καὶ σὺ δέ, γυνή, μετεπέμψω τῷ ἀνδρί σου περὶ ἐμοῦ;...τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθήκην ἣν διέθετο ὁ πατήρ· πᾶσαν οὖν σάρκα ἀπολωλυῖαν διὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ θανάτου ὃν οἴδατε ζωοποιήσω ἐγὼ ὁ ὑψωθεὶς καὶ πολλὰ παθών· καὶ νῦν οὖν ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐκ ἀπολεῖται πᾶσα σὰρξ πιστεύουσα εἰς τὸν πατέρα θεὸν καὶ εἰς ἐμέ· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔλυ|σα τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τὸν πολυκέφαλον p. 66 δράκοντα ἐξεκέντησα· καὶ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ παρουσίᾳ μου ὡς ἔχει ἕκαστος σώματι καὶ νῷ ἐγερθεὶς εὐλογεῖ τὸν πατέρα μου τοῦ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντος. ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ἀκούσασα ἡ γυνή μου Πρόκλα καὶ ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος Λογγῖνος ὁ πιστευθεὶς τηρῆσαι τὸ πάθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ συνπορευθέντες μετ' αὐτῆς, κλαίοντες καὶ λυπούμενοι, ἐλθόντες ἀπήγγειλάν μοι ταῦτα· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀπήγγειλα τοῖς μεγάλοις μου ταξεώταις καὶ συνστρατιώταις· οἱ δὲ λυπούμενοι καὶ κλαίοντες καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναλογιζόμενοι τὸ κακὸν ὃ ἔπραξαν εἰς αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ ὀδύνῃ τῆς γυναικός μου ἐγκεῖμαι ἐπὶ νηστείᾳ καὶ χαμευνίᾳ·.....καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος ἤγειρέν με καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἀτενίσας εἰς αὐτὸν εἶδον τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἔχον τοὺς μώλωπας· καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους μου τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ | λέγων· Μακαριοῦσί p. 67 σε πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ καὶ αἱ πατριαί, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ σου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβήσεται καὶ καθεσθήσεται ἐν ὑψίστοις· καὶ γνώσονται πάντες φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ μέλλων κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

1 *scr.* διαπορούντων (?) 2 συνηδῶν 4 μετ' επεψω 5 *Nullus hiatus in MSS.: cf. Syr.* 6 ἀπολωλίαν 8 ἀκούεται 9 πρ̄ά̄ν̄ 10 ἔλυσα] ἐλάλη | σα 18, 19 ταξεῶτας κ. συνστρατιῶτας· αἱ δὲ λυπούμεναι 20 *scr.* ἡμέραν ἔμειναν (?) 22 χαμινεία *duorum foliorum hiatus in textu: cf. Syr.* 24 ἰδω̄ ἔχων 26 αἱ πατριαὶ] ἐ ^{αι} π ^{α}/π̄ριαὶ

ἐπιστολὴ ἩρῴΔογ πρὸς πιλάτον.

Ἡρῴδης τετράρχης Γαλιλαίων Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν.

Οὐκ ἐν μικρῷ πένθει κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὢν ἐγώ σοι γράφω, ὡς καὶ σὺ ἀκούσας πάντως ἐν λύπῃ γενήσῃ· ἦν γὰρ ἐπόθουν Ἡρωδιάδα τὴν θυγατέρα μου παίζουσα ἀπώλετο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, πεπληρωμένου ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· ἄφνω γὰρ ἐπληθύνθη τὸ ὕδωρ ἕως τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐδράξατο ἡ μητὴρ αὐτῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ ληφθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ ἀπετμήθη ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς παιδός, ὥστε μόνην τὴν κεφαλὴν κρατεῖν τὴν γυναῖκά μου·
p. 68 καὶ ὅλον | τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς ἔλαβεν τὸ ὕδωρ· †καὶ τῆς γυναικός μου κρατῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ κλέουσα καὶ† εἶναι ὅλον τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐν πένθει ἀκαταπαύστῳ. κἀγὼ δὲ ἐν πολλῇ περιστάσει κακῶν ἐγκεῖμαι, ἀκούσας περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅτι ἐξουδένωσας αὐτόν· καὶ θέλω ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μόνον καὶ προσπεσεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαί τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ κακὰ ἔπραξα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπολαμβάνω τὰ ἄξια δικαίως· πολλὴν γὰρ ῥύσιν αἵματος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τέκνων ἀλλοτρίων ὁ πατήρ μου ἐποίησεν διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν· κἀγὼ δὲ πάλιν τὸν τούτου βαπτιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἀπεκεφάλισα. δίκαια τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι ἕκαστος ὡς ἐνθυμεῖταί καὶ ἀπολήψεται. ἐπεὶ οὖν πάλιν δύνασαι τὸν ἄνδρα θεάσασθαι Ἰησοῦν, νῦν ἀγωνίσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ πρεσβεύσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λόγον· ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐδόθη ἡ βασιλεία
p. 69 τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κατὰ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὸν | Χριστόν. καὶ Λεσβώναξ δὲ ὁ υἱός μου ἐπὶ ἐσχάτῃ τοῦ βίου ἐστὶν ἀνάγκῃ, νόσῳ μαραντικῇ συνεχόμενος ἡμέρας πολλάς· κἀγὼ

1 τετάρχης 3 ὡς ἐγὼ 4 γενήσει 5 ἠρωδιάδαν τ. θυγατέραν πέζουσαν 6 ὄχθα 10 κρατῶν scr. ὥστε τὴν γυναῖκά μου κρατεῖν—αὐτῆς κλαίουσαν, καὶ 14 ἐγκεῖμαι] ἔγκλημα 15 scr. θέλων (?) 18, 19 ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ 22 κρίματα] ῥήματα ὅτι ἕκαστος ὡς] ἐφεκάστως 23 δύναμαι: uel scr. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐ πάλιν δύναμαι 25 ὑμῖν] εἰ μὶν 27 λεσβόνος 28 ἀνάγκην ο σῶμα ραντικῇ

γὰρ αὐτὸς πειρασμῷ ὑδρωπικῷ κείμενος ἀρρωστῶ μεγάλως, ὥστε διὰ τοῦ στόματός μου σκώληκες ἐξέρχονται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γυνή μου τὸν εὐώνυμον ὀφθαλμὸν διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου μου πένθος ἀπώλετο. δίκαια τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸν δίκαιον ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξεμυκτηρίσαμεν. οὐκ ἔστιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰρήνη, λέγει κύριος. θάνατος ἤδη λήψεται τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι χεῖρας ἀδίκως ἐπέβαλον ἐπὶ τὸν δίκαιον Ἰησοῦν. ταῦτα τῇ τῶν αἰώνων συντελείᾳ πεπλήρωται, ὥστε εἶναι τὰ ἔθνη κληρονόμα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας, τοὺς δὲ υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκβληθῆναι ἔξω, διότι οὐκ ἐτηρήσαμεν τὰ πρὸς κύριον, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. διὸ νῦν ἀναζώσαι τὴν ὀσφύν σου· ἀνάλαβε τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου νυκτὸς καὶ | ἡμέρας μεμνημένος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μετὰ τῆς γυναικός σου· καὶ ὑμῶν ἔσται ἡ βασιλεία· ἡμεῖς γὰρ κατωρχησάμεθα τοῦ δικαίου. εἰ δέ τις ἐστὶν ἔντευξις, ὦ Πιλᾶτος, ἐπεὶ ὁμοχρόνιοι ἐγενάμεθα, θάψον μου τὸν οἶκον ἐπιμελῶς· δικαιότερον γάρ ἐστιν ὑπό σου ἐνταφιασθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἷς μετ' ὀλίγον κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς Ἰησοῦ ἡ κρίσις ἀπόκειται. ἔρρωσο. ἔπεμψά σοι τὰ ἐνώτια τῆς γυναικός μου καὶ τὸ δακτύλιον τὸ ἐμόν. διαμνημονευθείς ποτε ἀποδώσεις μοι εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν. ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου σκώληκες ἀναβαίνουσιν καὶ τὸ κοσμικὸν κρίμα ἀπολαμβάνω· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ κρίμα φοβοῦμαι πλέον· ἐν διπλῷ γὰρ μέλλει μοι ἐφίστασθαι τὰ κριτήρια θεοῦ ζῶντος. δραπετεύομεν γὰρ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ, ὀλιγοχρόνιοι ὄντες ἐνταῦθα· ἐκεῖθεν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιος κρίσις καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις τῶν πεπραγμέ|νων. p. 70 p. 71

περὶ δὲ Λογγίνου τοῦ νύξαντος τὴν πλευρὰν Ἰησοῦ λόγχῃ· αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ ἄγγελος κύριου ἐπιλαβόμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἦρεν αὐτὸν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς ἔρημον τόπον, καὶ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸν πέρα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, καὶ ἔτεινεν αὐτὸν χαμαὶ ἐπ' ὄψει· καὶ ἐτάγη λέων ἐξέρχεσθαι

1 πειρ μῶ κεῖμεν. ἀρωστῶ 6 ἤδει 10 κληρονομία 16 κατορχ. 17 ὁμόχρονον ἐγεναμενθα 19 οἷς] τοῖς 20 Ἰησοῦ ῑ͞ν ὑποκειται πενψα 25 μέλλει μοι] μέλλωμαι 29 ἠνύξαντος 33 ἐπ' ὄψει] ? ἐπ' ὀψίαν

κατ᾽ ὀψίαν καὶ ἀναλίσκειν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἄχρι πρωΐας· καὶ τὴν πρωΐαν †ἔχων† ὁ λέων, καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπληροῦτο <τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ταύτην> τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔχει ἕως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐξέθετο Νικόδημος καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθίας ὁ αἰτησάμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

1 κατόψει 2 πρωΐαν †ἔχων†] *l.* πρωΐαν ἀνεῖχεν *vel* ἀπῆλθεν

I append Professor W. Wright's translation of the Syriac version of these letters, which appears in his *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament* (1865, p. 12). In this version the order of the letters is transposed. Appended to the Letter of Pilate are three extracts, one from Justinus, the second from Theodosius (= Tiberius), and the third from Josephus. As they have no bearing on the letters, I do not quote them here.

The Letter of Pilate to Herod.

Pilate to Herod the Tetrarch, health!

Know and see, that in that day when thou deliveredst unto me Jesus, I had compassion on myself, and testified by the washing of my hands (that I was free) from (the blood of) him who rose from the grave after three days; but I did on him thy pleasure, as thou wishedst that I should join with thee in crucifying him. But now I learned from the executioners, and from the soldiers who were watching his tomb, that he rose from the grave; and above all I made quite sure of what was told me, that he was seen in the body in Galilee, with the same form, the same voice, the same doctrines, and the same disciples, having changed nothing, but preaching boldly his resurrection and the everlasting kingdom. And lo, heaven and earth were rejoicing; and lo, my wife Procla was believing (in him) through those visions which appeared to her, when thou didst send (me word) to deliver up Jesus to the people of Israel, because of their ill will (against him). And now when Procla my wife heard that Jesus was risen, and had been seen in Galilee, she took with her Longinus the centurion and the twelve soldiers who

watched the tomb, and went forth, as it were to a great sight, to welcome the person of the Messiah. And she saw him along with his disciples. And whilst they were standing in astonishment looking upon him, he looked upon them and said to them: "What is it? Do ye believe on me? Know, Procla, that in the testament which God gave to the fathers, it is said, that every body which had perished, should live by means of my death, which ye have seen. And now ye see that I am alive, whom ye crucified; and many things did I bear, until I was laid in the tomb. And now, listen to Me, and believe in God My Father who is with Me. For I have burst the bands of death, and have broken open the gates of Sheōl, and (it is) My coming which is to be (hereafter)." And when my wife Procla and the soldiers heard these things, they came (and) told me, weeping, because they too had been against him, when they were plotting the evil things which they had done unto him; so that I too upon my bed am in distress, and put on a garment of sorrow, and take to me fifty soldiers along with my wife, and go unto Galilee. And as I was going on the road, I was testifying these things, that Herod did these things with me, who planned along with me and constrained me to arm my hands against Him, and to judge the Judge of all, and to scourge the Just One, the Lord of the just. And when we drew nigh unto him, O Herod, a great voice was heard from heaven, and terrible thunder, and the earth trembled and gave forth a sweet smell, the like of which was never seen even in the temple of Jerusalem. But when I stood on the way, our Lord saw me, as he was standing and talking with the disciples. But I prayed in my heart, for I knew that this was He whom ye delivered unto me, that this was the Lord of created things, and the Creator of all. But we, when we saw Him, all of us fell upon our faces before His feet. And I was saying with a loud voice: "I have sinned, Lord, in that I sat and judged Thee, that avengest all in truth. And lo, I know that Thou art God, the Son of God, and Thy Manhood have I seen, but not Thy Godhead. But Herod with the children of Israel compelled me to do evil

unto Thee. Have pity, therefore, upon me, God of Israel." And my wife in great tribulation said: "God of heaven and earth, God of Israel, reward me not according to the deeds of Pontius Pilate, nor according to the will of the children of Israel, nor according to the thoughts of the sons of the priests; but remember my husband in Thy glory." And our Lord drew nigh and raised up me and my wife and the soldiers; and I looked upon Him and saw that there were on Him the scars of His cross. And He said: "That which all the just fathers hoped to receive, and did not see, (thou hast seen); in thy time the Lord of time, the Son of man, the Son of the Exalted One, who is from all time, has risen from the grave, and is glorified on high by all that He has created and established, for ever and ever."

The Letter of Herod to Pilate the Hēgemōn.

Herod to Pontius Pilate the Hēgemōn of Jerusalem, health!

I am in great anxiety. I write unto thee these (things), that, when thou hast heard them, thou mayest grieve for me. For as my daughter, who was dear to me, Herodia, was playing on a deep (pond) of water which was frozen over, the ice broke under her, and her whole body went down, and her head was cut off, and remained on the surface of the ice. And lo, her mother is holding her head on her knees in her lap, and my whole house is in great sorrow. For I, when I heard of the man Jesus, wished to come unto thee, and to see him alone, and hear his word, if it was like to that of the sons of men. And it is certain that, because of the many evil things which I did unto John the Baptist, and because I mocked at the Messiah, lo, I am receiving a just recompense; for I have shed much blood of other people's children upon the ground. On this account, the judgments of God are just; for every man receives according to his thought. But thou, because thou hast been deemed worthy to see the God-man, on this account it is fitting for thee to pray for me. And my son Azbonius is in the agony of the hour of death. And I too am in affliction and great trial. For I have got the dropsy, and am in great distress; because I persecuted the opener of the baptism of water, who was John. Because of these things, my brother, the judgments of God are just. And my wife too, through all the grief for her daughter, her left eye has become blind; because we wished to make blind the eye of righteousness. There is no peace to the doers of iniquities, saith the Lord. For from now great affliction is

coming upon the priests and upon the writers of the law, because they delivered unto thee the Just One. For this is the consummation of the world, that they consented that the Gentiles should become heirs. For the children of light shall be cast out; for they have not observed the things which were preached concerning the Lord and his Son. Because of this, gird up thy loins and receive righteousness, being mindful, thou with thy wife, by night and by day, of Jesus; and of you Gentiles shall be the kingdom, for we the (chosen) people have mocked at the Righteous One. But if there be a place for our petition, O Pilate, because we were in power at one time, bury my household with care; for it is right that we should be buried by thee rather than by the priests, whom, after a short time, as the Scripture says, at the coming of Jesus the Messiah, vengeance shall overtake. Mayest thou be well, along with Procla thy wife! I send thee the earrings of my daughter and my own signet-ring, that they may be in thy possession a memorial of me after death; for the worms have already begun to issue forth from my body, and lo, I am receiving judgment in this world, and dreading the judgment that is to come. For in both we stand before the works of the living God; but this judgment, the one in this world, is temporary, whilst that which is to come is an everlasting judgment.

(Here) ends the letter to Pilate the Hēgemōn.

EPISTOLA TIBERII AD PILATUM

GRAECE

EPISTOLA TIBERII AD PILATUM.

Τὰ ἀντιγραφέντα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου καὶ πεμφθέντα πρὸς Πιλᾶτον Πόντιον τὴν ἀνατολικὴν ἐπέχοντα ἀρχήν· γράψας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν καὶ στείλας αὐτὴν μετὰ κουρσῶρος Ραάβ, δοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιώτας τὸν ἀριθμὸν δισχιλίους.

Ἐπείδηπερ βιαΐον καὶ ἀδικίας μεστὸν γέμοντα κατεψηφίσω θάνατον Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου καὶ πρὸ καταδίκης εἰς θάνατον τοῦτον παρέδωκας τοῖς ἀπλήστοις καὶ μεμηνόσιν Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ οὐ συνεπάθησας τούτῳ δικαίῳ, ἀλλὰ κάλαμον βάψας, καὶ ἀπόφασιν δυστήνην ἐκδούς, καὶ φραγελλώσας αὐτὸν παρέδωκας ἐπὶ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ἀναιτίως, καὶ δῶρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἔλαβες, καὶ τῇ μὲν γλώττῃ τούτῳ συνεπάθησας, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ τοῦτον παρέδωκας τοῖς παρανόμοις Ἰουδαίοις, δέσμιος ἀχθήσῃ μοι, ἵνα ὑπεραπολογήσῃ καὶ λόγον ἀνταποδώσῃς μοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἧς ἀναιτίως εἰς θάνατον παρέδωκας. ἀλλ' ὢ τῆς σῆς ἀναιδείας καὶ πωρώσεως. ἐγὼ ὁ ἐξ ἀκοῆς τοῦτον

B = Birch (Andr.). *Auctarium Codicis Apocryphi N. T. Fabriciani*, Fasc. i, Havniae 1804, p. 172: ex Cod. Vindob. 246.

F = Flecte (Ferd. F.). *Wissenschaftliche Reise*, Band ii. Abth. ii, Leipzig 1837, p. 145: ex Cod. Taurinensi Regii Graeco C. ii. 5 (no. cccii).

Titulus deest in F.

6 μεστὸν] μεστῆς F κατεψηφίσω] κατεψιφης B 7 om. τοῦ F 8 παρέδωκας] παραδεδ. F 9 τούτῳ—βάψας, καὶ] τουτον δια καλάμῳ β. B 11 αὐτὸν] τοῦτον F om. ἀναιτίως B 12 om. καὶ (1) F ἔλαβες] λαβὼν F 13 τούτῳ] τοῦτον BF συνεπαθ.] ἐσυνεπάθες F παρέδωκας] παρέδιδες F 14 ἀχθήσῃ] ἀχθῆς B ἀχθεὶ F

ἀκούων παθαίνομαι τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα συγκόπτομαι· γυνὴ γάρ τις πρός με ἐλήλυθε, μαθήτρια τούτου λέγουσα εἶναι, ἥτις ἐστιν Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή, ἀφ' ἧς μαρτυροῦσιν ὅτι ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια ἐκβεβλήκει, μαρτυροῦσα τοῦτον ἰάματα μέγιστα ἐπιτελεῖν· τυφλοὺς ἐποίησε βλέπειν, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, καὶ κωφοὺς ἀκούειν, λεπροὺς ἐκαθάρισεν, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐμαρτύρει αὕτη, ὅτι λόγῳ μόνῳ τὰς ἰάσεις ἐπετέλει. πῶς παρεχώρησας ἀναιτίως τοῦτον σταυρωθῆναι; καὶ εἰ ὡς θεὸν οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, κἂν ὡς ἰατρῷ τούτῳ συνεπαθήσατε. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δολερᾶς γραφῆς σου τῆς πρός με ἐλθούσης καταψηφίσω σου τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὡς γραφούσης ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς σεβόμεθα μείζων ὑπῆρχεν. πῶς παρέδωκας αὐτὸν εἰς θάνατον; ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σὺ ἀδίκως τοῦτον κατέκρινας καὶ εἰς θάνατον παρέδωκας, κἀγώ σε δικαίως εἰς θάνατον παραδώσω· οὐ μόνον δέ σε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς συμβούλους σου καὶ συμμύστας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θανάτου εἴληφας.

Δοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς γραμματοδιακομισταῖς τὰ γράμματα καὶ δι' ἐγγράφου κελεύσεως ἀπόφασις Αὐγούστου τούτοις ἐδόθη, ἵνα ἅπαν τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ξίφει ἀναιρήσωσι καὶ δέσμιον τὸν Πιλᾶτον καὶ κατακεκριμένον ἀχθῆναι ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους, τοὺς τότε τοπάρχας, Ἀρχέλαον τὸν τοῦ ἐχθίστου Ἡρώδου υἱόν, καὶ τὸν συμμύστην αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς τούτων ἀρχιερεῖς, τόν τε Καϊάφαν καὶ τὸν τούτον πενθερὸν Ἄνναν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

1 ἀκούων—συγκόπτομαι] ἀκούων ἀμηχανῶ B 2 ἐλήλυθε] ἐλθοῦσα B 3—5 ἀφ' ἧς—ἐπιτελεῖν] ἀφ' ἧς μαρτυροῦσα τοῦτον ἰαμ. μέγ. ἐπιτ. B μαρτυροῦσα ὅτι—ἐκβεβλ. καὶ μαρτυροῦσα—ἐπιτ. F 6 om. καὶ κωφ. ἀκούειν F 7 ἐκαθάρισεν—αὕτη] καθαρίζειν. Απλεος ειπε ως μαρτυρουσα τοῦτον B ἐκαθαίρησαι, καὶ—αὕτη F 9 ἐδέξασθε] ἐδόξασται F 10 κἂν—τούτῳ] κἂν ὡς ἰατρὸν B κἂν—τούτῳ ἂς (scr. ἀς) F 12 γραφούσης ὅτι καὶ] γραφασης ταυτα. ος οτι B τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς] τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς B 13 αὐτὸν] τοῦτον ἀναίτιον F 14 ἀδίκως τοῦτον κατέκρ. καὶ] τοῦτον κατακρίνων B 15 κἀγώ—δέ σε] οὕτως καί σε οὐ μόνον σε B 16 συμβ. σου κ. συμμ.] συμμύστας σου F 17 om. καὶ (2) B 19 γραμματοδ.] γραμματοις μυστοις B τὰ] + τοιαῦτα B 20 ἐγγράφου κελ.] ἐγκελεύσεως F om. Αὐγούστου B 21 ξίφει ἀναιρήσ.] ἀναιρωσιν B 22 ἐν] τῇ B 23 τότε] τε B 26 πενθερὸν] πενθηραν B

Ἀπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ῥαχαὰβ μετὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, κατὰ τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ἄρρεν γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ξίφει ὑπερηκόντισε, τὰς δὲ βεβήλους αὐτῶν γυναῖκας τὰ ἔθνη ἐξεπορνεύσαντο, < καὶ > ἀνεφύη καὶ ἐξανέστη σπέρμα μυσαρὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ Σατανᾶ. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ κούρσωρ τόν τε Πιλᾶτον, Ἀρχέλαόν τε καὶ Φίλιππον, Ἄνναν καὶ Καϊάφαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, δεσμίους ἦγεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ἔτυχεν δὲ τούτους διερχομένους ἐν νήσῳ τινί Κρήτῃ ἐπονομαζομένῃ τὸν Καϊάφαν δυστήνως καὶ βιαιῶς τὸν βίον ἀπορρῆξαι· καὶ λαβόντων δὲ τοῦτον ἵνα καταχώσωσιν, οὐδὲ τὸ σύνολον τοῦτον ἡ γῆ κατεδέξατο, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦτον ἀπέρριπτεν. ἰδὼν δὲ ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, ἄραντες λίθους οἰκείαις χερσίν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔβαλον καὶ οὕτως κατέχωσαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσώρμισαν.

Ἔθος δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαιοῖς ἀναξίν, ὡς ὅτι ἐὰν κατάδικός τις ἦν θανάτῳ, καὶ ἐθεάσατο τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῶν, ἐρρύετο τῆς καταδίκης. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῦ μὴ θεάσασθαι τὸν Πιλᾶτον, ἵνα μὴ ῥυσθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου· ἀλλὰ κελεύσει τούτου ἐν ἄντρῳ τινὶ τοῦτον ἀνέκτισαν, καὶ ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ἔασαν.

Τὸν δὲ Ἄνναν ἐν δέρματι βοὸς ἐνετύλιξαν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς βύρσης ξηρανθείσης, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐκπιασθείς, τὰ ἔγκατα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον, καὶ βιαιῶς τὴν ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπέρρηξεν. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ἅπαντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκδότους παρέδωκεν εἰς θάνατον· καὶ τούτους ἀπέκτειναν τῷ ξίφει· Ἀρχέλαον δὲ

1 Ῥαχαὰβ] Ῥαχαὰμ F 2 om. κατὰ τὸ—ἐποίησε, καὶ B τὸ ἄρρεν—Ἰουδ.] το γεν. τ. Ἰουδ. το ἄρεν B 4 ἐξεπορν.] ἐξεπορεύσαντο F ἐκπορνεύσαντα B 5 om. τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτ. B 6 κούρσωρ] κούρσων F om. τε (2) B 7 καὶ πάντας—Ῥώμῃ] δεσμ. αὐτ. κ. τους πρ. των Ιουδ. ηγον εις Ρωμην B 9 om. διερχ. B ἐπονομ.] ὀνομ. B 11 λαβόντων δὲ] λαβόντες F καταχώσωσιν] κατακαύσωσιν B 12 τοῦτον post ἡ γῆ B ἀπέρρ.] επεριπτεν B 13 ἅπαν post τὸ πλ. B λίθους] λίθον F 14 om. οἱ—προσωρμ. B 17 τις ἦν θανάτῳ] τις θαν. ἄξιος ἦν B om. καὶ F 18 om. οὖν B 19 κελεύσει τούτου] καιλεύσει τούτου F κελ. τοῦτον B 20 om. τοῦτον B ἀνέκτισαν] ανεκτησαι B αὐτὸν ἔασαν] ιασαι B 23 βύρσης] βυρσιν B ἐκπιασθείς] υποασθης B 24 om. αὐτοῦ bis B 25 ψυχ. post αὐτοῦ B 26 παρέδωκεν] -αν B 27 ἀπεκτ. τῷ] απεκτεινον τη B om. Ἀρχέλ.—ἀνασκολοπ. B δὲ] τε P

τὸν τοῦ ἐχθίστου Ἡρώδου υἱόν, καὶ τὸν τούτου συμμύστην Φίλιππον προσέταξεν ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι.

Μιᾷ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐξελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν δορκάδα τινα ἐδίωκεν· ἡ δὲ δορκὰς ἐλθοῦσα ἐν τῇ ὀπῇ τοῦ ἄντρου ἵστατο. ἔμελλεν δὲ τὸν Πιλᾶτον ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλωθῆναι· καὶ ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ μέλλον προέκοψεν ὁ Πιλᾶτος θεάσασθαι τὸν ἄνακτα, καὶ ἡ δορκὰς κατέναντι τούτου στᾶσα, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ βέλος βαλὼν ἐν τῷ τόξῳ τοῦ τὴν δορκάδα καταβαλεῖν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς τὸ βέλος εἰσελθὸν τὸν Πιλᾶτον ἀνῄρησεν. [πάντες δὲ πιστεύοντες Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν σωτῆρα δότε δόξαν καὶ μεγαλωσύνην αὐτῷ· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.]

3 *om.* τῶν ἡμερῶν B 4 ἐν—ἄντρου] εις οπην του αντρου B 7 προέκοψεν] προεβλεψεν F 8 βέλος—τόξῳ] τόξον λαβὼν B 9 *om.* καὶ B 10—15 *om.* πάντες—ἀμήν F

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΒΑΡΟΥΧ.

APOCALYPSIS BARUCHI TERTIA GRAECE.

f. 173 Διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ περὶ ὧν κελεύματι θεοῦ ἀρρήτων εἶδεν. Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα.

Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ, ὃς ἔστη ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ †γέλ.,† κλαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὅτε καὶ Ἀβιμελὲχ ἐπὶ Ἀγρίππα τὸ χωρίον τῇ χειρὶ θεοῦ διεφυλάχθη· καὶ οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πύλας, ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια.

1 Ἤμην ἐγὼ Βαρουχ κλαίων ἐν τῇ συνέσει μου καὶ †ἔχων† περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ὅπως συνεχωρήθη Ναβουχοδονόσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ θεοῦ πορθῆσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ, λέγων· Κύριε, ἵνα τί ἐξέκαυσας τὸν ἀμπελῶνά σου καὶ ἠρήμωσας αὐτόν; τί ἐποιήσας τοῦτο; καὶ ἵνα τί, κύριε, οὐκ ἀπέδωκας ἡμᾶς ἐν ἄλλῃ παιδείᾳ, ἀλλὰ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔθνη τοιαῦτα, ὅπως ὀνειδίζοντες λέγουσιν Ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν; καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐν τῷ κλαίειν με καὶ λέγειν τοιαῦτα ὁρῶ ἄγγελον κυρίου ἐλθόντα καὶ λέγοντά μοι·

f. 173 *b* Σύνες, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν, καὶ μὴ το|σοῦτόν σε μέλῃ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ· ἀπέστειλε γάρ με πρὸ προσώπου σου ὅπως ἀναγγείλω καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι πάντα <τὰ> τοῦ θεοῦ· ἡ γὰρ δέησίς σου ἠκούσθη ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰ ὦτα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπών μοι, ἡσύχασα· καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Παῦσον

3 ἐστιν 5 διεφυλάχθην 6 οὕτος 8 Ἤμην] οἶνῦν 13 παιδία 18 μέλει

σριας

τὸν θεὸν παροξύνειν, καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι ἄλλα μυστήρια τούτων μείζονα. καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Βαρούχ· Ζῇ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐὰν ὑποδείξῃς μοι καὶ ἀκούσω παρά σου λόγον, οὐ μὴ προσθήσω ἔτι λαλῆσ<αι·> προσθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως κρίσιν ἐμοί, ἐὰν λαλήσω τοῦ λοιποῦ. καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων· Δεῦρο καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ.

Καὶ λαβών με ἤγαγέν με ὅπου ἐστήρικται ὁ οὐρανός, **2** καὶ ὅπου ἦν ποταμὸς ὃν οὐδεὶς δύναται περάσαι αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ξένη πνοὴ ἐκ πασῶν ὧν ἔθετο ὁ θεός· καὶ λαβών με ἤγαγέν με ἐπὶ τὸν | πρῶτον οὐρανὸν καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι f. 174 θύραν πανμεγέθη· καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Εἰσέλθωμεν δι' αὐτῆς. καὶ εἰσήλθομεν ὡς ἐν πτέρυξιν ὡσεὶ πορείας ὁδοῦ ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα· καὶ ὑπέδειξέν μοι ἔνδον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεδίον· καὶ ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ, ὧν τὰ πρόσωπα βοῶν, τὰ δὲ κέρατα ἐλάφων, οἱ δὲ πόδες αἰγῶν, αἱ δὲ ὀσφύες ἀρνῶν. καὶ ἠρώτησα ἐγὼ Βαρουχ τὸν ἄγγελον· Ἀνάγγειλόν μοι, δέομαί σου, τί ἐστιν τὸ πάχος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν ᾧ ὠδεύσαμεν, ἢ τί τὸ διάστημα αὐτοῦ, ἢ τί τὸ πεδίον; ἵνα κἀγὼ ἀπαγγείλω τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Φαμαῆλ· Ἡ θύρα αὕτη ἣν ὁρᾷς ἐστιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὅσον διαφέρει ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν καὶ τὸ πάχος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅσον πάλιν ἐστὶ† καὶ τὸ τοῦ πεδίου μῆκος οὗ εἶδας. καὶ πάλιν λέγει μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων· Δεῦρο καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι μείζονα μυστήρια. εἶπον δὲ ἐγώ· Δέομαί σου, | δεῖξόν μοι τί εἰσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι; καὶ f. 174b εἶπέν μοι· Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν πύργον τῆς θεομαχίας οἰκοδομήσαντες καὶ ἐξετόπησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος.

Καὶ λαβών με ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἤγαγέν με εἰς δεύτερον **3** οὐρανόν· καὶ ὑπέδειξέν μοι [ἐν] κἀκεῖ θύραν ὁμοίαν τῆς πρώτης, καὶ εἶπεν· Εἰσέλθωμεν δι' αὐτῆς. καὶ εἰσήλθομεν ἀναπτερωμένοι ὡσεὶ πορείας ὁδοῦ ἡμερῶν ἑξήκοντα· καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι κἀκεῖ πεδίον, καὶ ἦν πλῆρες ἀνθρώπων, ἡ δὲ θεωρία αὐτῶν ὁμοία κυνῶν, οἱ δὲ πόδες ἐλάφων. καὶ

13 πορίας 14 *etc.* παιδίον 16 ἐγων 17 ὠσφρύαι 19 ὀδεύσαμεν 21 Φαμαῆλ] ? Φανουήλ or Ῥαμιήλ 24 *supple* (καὶ ὅσον πάλιν ἐστὶν) ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότου, τοσοῦτον 29 ωκοδομ. 34 κἀκεῖν

ἠρώτησα τὸν ἄγγελον· Δέομαί σου, κύριε, εἰπέ μοι τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι; καὶ εἶπεν· Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν συμβούλην δόντες τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸν πύργον· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὓς ὁρᾷς ἐξέβαλλον πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν εἰς τὸ πλινθεύειν· ἐν οἷς μία γυνὴ πλινθεύουσα ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν οὐ συνεχωρήθη ἀπολυθῆναι, ἀλλὰ πλινθεύουσα ἔτεκεν καὶ τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ λεντίῳ ἐβάσταζεν καὶ ἐπλίνθευεν·
f. 175 καὶ | [καὶ] ὀφθεὶς αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος ἐνήλλαξεν αὐτῶν τὰς γλώσσας ἀφ' οὗ τὸν πύργον ᾠκοδόμησαν ἐπὶ πήχεις τετρακοσίας ἑξήκοντα τρεῖς· καὶ λαβόντες τρύπανον ἔσπευδον τρυπῆσαι τὸν οὐρανόν, λέγοντες· Ἴδωμεν <εἰ> ὀστράκινός ἐστιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἢ χαλκοῦς ἢ σιδηροῦς. ταῦτα ἰδὼν ὁ θεὸς οὐ συνεχώρησεν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀορασίᾳ καὶ ἐν γλωσσαλλαγῇ, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ὁρᾷς.

4 Καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Βαρούχ· Ἰδού, κύριε, μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔδειξάς μοι· καὶ νῦν δεῖξόν μοι πάντα διὰ τὸν κύριον. καὶ εἶπέν μοι ἄγγελος· Δεῦρο διέλθωμεν <. καὶ διῆλθον> μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ὡσεὶ πορείας ἡμερῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε· καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι πεδίον, καὶ ὄφιν† ὡς ὁράσεως πλέθρα σ'. καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ ἦν ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ζοφώδης καὶ βέβηλος· καὶ εἶπον· Τίς ἐστιν ὁ δράκων οὗτος, καὶ τίς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ὁ μὲν δράκων ἐστὶν ὁ
f. 175 *b* τὰ σώματα | τῶν κακῶς τὸν βίον μετερχομένων ἐσθίων· καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τρέφεται· καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ᾅδης, ὅστις καὶ αὐτὸς παρόμοιός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πίνει ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὡσεὶ πῆχυν μίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείπει ἀπ' αὐτῆς τι. ὁ Βαρούχ εἶπεν· Καὶ πῶς; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἄκουσον· κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν τριακοσίους ἑξήκοντα ποταμούς, ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι πάντων Ἀλφίας καὶ Ἄβυρος καὶ ὁ Γηρικός· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκ ἐκλείπει ἡ θάλασσα. καὶ εἶπον ἐγώ· Δέομαί σου, δεῖξόν μοι τί τὸ ξύλον τὸ πλανῆσαν τὸν Ἀδάμ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἡ ἄμπελός

4 πλήθει 4 *etc.* πληνθευειν 9 ὡς ὀκοδόμησαν 10 τρυττάνου 11 εἴδωμεν 21 ὡς ὁράσεως πεθρᾶς 22 εἰδία 24 ἀπηνῆς *or* ἀπηγῆς 28, 32 εκλιπη 32 Γηρικός] ? γυρικός = Oceanus

ἐστιν, ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ὁ ἄγγελος Σαμαὴλ† ὅτινη ὠργίσθη κύριος ὁ θεός· καὶ ἐκατηράσατο αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν φυτείαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ συνεχώρησεν τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἅψασθαι αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φθονήσας ὁ διάβολος ἠπάτησεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἀμπέλου αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Βαρούχ· Καὶ ἐπεὶ τοσούτου κακοῦ αἰτία γέγονεν ἡ | ἄμ- f. 176
πελος καὶ κατάρας ὑπόδικος παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀναίρεσις, πῶς ἄρτι εἰς τοσαύτην χρείαν ἐστίν; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ὀρθῶς ἐρωτᾷς· ὅτε ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπώλεσε πᾶσαν σάρκα καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας ἐννέα χιλιάδας τῶν γιγάντων, καὶ ἀνῆλθεν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπάνω τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐπὶ πήχεις δεκάπεντε, εἰσῆλθε τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ ᾔρεν πᾶν ἄνθος· τὸ δὲ κλῆμα τῆς ἀμπέλου ἐξώρισεν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς καὶ ἐξέβαλεν ἔξω. καὶ ὅταν ἐφάνη ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἐξῆλθε Νῶε τῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἤρξατο φυτεύειν ἐκ τῶν εὑρισκομένων φυτῶν· εὗρε δὲ καὶ τὸ κλῆμα, καὶ λαβὼν ἐλογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ τί ἄρα ἐστίν· καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ εἶπον αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ ἐκείνου· καὶ εἶπεν· Ἆρα φυτεύσω αὐτὸ ἢ τί; ἐπεὶ Ἀδὰμ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπώλετο· μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὀργῆς θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων προσηύξατο ὅπως ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτῷ ὁ | θεὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ τί ποιήσει· f. 176b
καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας τὴν εὐχὴν ἐκτελέσαντος, καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς καὶ κλαύσας εἶπεν· Κύριε, παρακαλῶ ὅπως ἀποκαλύψῃς μοι τί ποιήσω περὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ τούτου. ἀπέστειλε δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ τὸν Σαρασαήλ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἀναστάς, Νῶε, φύτευσον τὸ κλῆμα, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος· Τὸ πικρὸν τούτου μεταβληθήσεται εἰς γλυκύ, καὶ ἡ κατάρα αὐτοῦ γενήσεται εἰς εὐλογίαν, καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ γεννώμενον γενήσεται αἷμα θεοῦ, καὶ ὥσπερ δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν καταδίκην ἔλαβεν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πάλιν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ἐμμανουὴλ ἐν αὐτῷ μέλλουσιν τὴν ἄνω κλῆσιν προσλαβεῖν, καὶ τὴν εἰς παράδεισον εἴσοδον. γίνωσκε τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Βαρούχ, ὅτι ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀδὰμ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου τὴν καταδίκην ἔλαβεν καὶ τῆς δόξης θεοῦ ἐγυμνώθη, οὕτως καὶ οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τὸν

1 εφοιτευσεν σαμουὴλ ὅτινε 9 ὅτινη 10 πᾶσα 30 γενόμενον γεννήσεται

ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννώμενον οἶνον ἀπλήστως †δρῶντες† χεῖρον
f. 177 τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τὴν παράβασιν ἀπερ|γάζονται καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
δόξης μακρὰν γίνονται καὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ ἑαυτοὺς
προξενοῦσιν· πᾶν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δι' αὐτοῦ <οὐ> γίνεται·
ταῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦσιν οἱ τοῦτον εἰς κόρον πίνοντες· οὔτε
ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἐλεεῖ, οὔτε πατὴρ υἱόν, οὔ<τε> τέκνα
γονεῖς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πτώσεως† τοῦ οἴνου πάντα γίνονται
οἷον φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, ἐπιορκεῖαι, κλοπαί, καὶ
τὰ τούτων ὅμοια· καὶ οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν δι' αὐτοῦ κατορ-
θοῦται.

5 Καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Βαρουχ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· Ἐπερωτῶ
σε ἕνα λόγον, κύριε· ἐπειδὴ εἶπές μοι ὅτι πίνει ὁ δράκων ἐκ
τῆς θαλάσσης πῆχυν μίαν· εἰπέ μοι καὶ πόση ἐστὶν ἡ
κοιλία αὐτοῦ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἡ κοιλία αὐτοῦ ὁ
ᾅδης ἐστίν· καὶ ὅσον ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων μόλιβδος ἀκον-
τίζεται, τοσαύτη ἐστὶν ἡ κοιλία αὐτοῦ. ἐλθὲ οὖν ὅπως
δείξω σοι καὶ μείζονα τούτων ἔργα.

6 Καὶ λαβών με ἤγαγέν με ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος ἐκπορεύεται·
f. 177 *b* καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι ἅρμα τετραέλαστον ὃ ἦν ὑπόπυρον, καὶ | ἐπὶ
τοῦ ἅρματος ἄνθρωπος καθήμενος φορῶν στέφανον πυρός·
<καὶ ἦν> ἐλαυνόμενον τὸ ἅρμα ὑπ' ἀγγέλων τεσσαράκοντα.
καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄρνεον περιτρέχον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡλίου ὡς ὄρη
ἐννέα· καὶ εἶπον τὸν ἄγγελον· Τί ἐστιν τὸ ὄρνεον τοῦτο;
καὶ λέγει μοι· Τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ φύλαξ τῆς οἰκουμένης. καὶ
εἶπον· Κύριε, πῶς ἐστιν φύλαξ τῆς οἰκουμένης; δίδαξόν
με. καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον παρατρέχει
τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας ἐφαπλῶν δέχεται τὰς πυριμόρ-
φους ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ταύτας ἐδέχετο, οὐκ ἂν τῶν
ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐσώζετο, οὔτε ἕτερόν τι ζῷον· ἀλλὰ
προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον. καὶ ἥπλωσε τὰς
πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶδον εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν πτερὸν αὐτοῦ
γράμματα παμμεγέθη, ὡς ἄλωνος τόπον ἔχων μέτρον ὡσεὶ
μοδίων τετρακισχιλίων· καὶ ἦσαν γράμματα χρυσᾶ. καὶ
εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἀνάγνωθι ταῦτα. καὶ ἀνέγνων· καὶ
f. 178 ἔλεγον οὕτως· Οὔ|τε γῆ με τίκτει οὔτε οὐρανός, ἀλλὰ

1 γενωμενον απλειστως 4 προξενωσοιν 7 ? πόσεως 13 ποσοι
19 ἅρματατρασέλαστον ὑπόπυρος 22 ὄρει 24 ὁ φύλαξ] υφυλαξ
32 ἄλλωνος 35 τίκει

τίκτουσί με πτέρυγες πυρός. καὶ εἶπον· Κύριε, τί ἐστὶ τὸ ὄρνεον τοῦτο, καὶ τί τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ; καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Φοῖνιξ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. <καὶ εἶπον·> Καὶ τί ἐσθίει; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Τὸ μάννα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὴν δρόσον τῆς γῆς. καὶ εἶπον· Ἀφοδεύει τὸ ὄρνεον; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Ἀφοδεύει σκώληκα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ σκώληκος ἀφόδευμα γίνεται κινάμωμον, ᾧπερ χρῶνται βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντες. μεῖνον δέ, καὶ ὄψει δόξαν θεοῦ. καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμιλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐγένετο [βροντὴ] ὡς ἦχος βροντῆς, καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἱστάμεθα· καὶ ἠρώτησα τὸν ἄγγελον· Κύριέ μου, τί ἐστιν ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη; καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἄρτι ἀνοίγουσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι τὰς τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα πέντε πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ διαχωρίζεται τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους. καὶ ἦλθεν φωνὴ λέγουσα· Φωτόδοτα, δὸς τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ φέγγος. καὶ ἀκούσας τὸν κτύπον τοῦ ὀρνέου εἶπον· | Κύριε, τί ἐστιν ὁ κτύπος οὗτος; καὶ f. 178 *b*
εἶπεν· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἐξυπνίζον τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλέκτορας· ὡς γὰρ τὰ δίστομα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ μηνύει τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν λαλιάν. ὁ ἥλιος γὰρ ἑτοιμάζεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων· καὶ φωνεῖ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ.

Καὶ εἶπον ἐγώ· Καὶ ποῦ ἀποσχολεῖται ὁ ἥλιος ἀφ' οὗ **7**
ὁ ἀλέκτωρ φωνεῖ; καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἄκουσον, Βαρούχ· πάντα ὅσα ἔδειξά σοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ δευτέρῳ οὐρανῷ ἐστιν· καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ οὐρανῷ διέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος καὶ διδοῖ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ φέγγος. ἀλλὰ ἔκδεξαι, καὶ ὄψει δόξαν θεοῦ. καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμιλεῖν με αὐτῷ, ὁρῶ τὸ ὄρνεον, καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ πρὸς μικρὸν μικρὸν ηὔξανε, καὶ ἀνεπληροῦτο· καὶ ὄπισθεν τούτου τὸν ἥλιον ἐξαστράπτοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους μετ' αὐτοῦ φέροντας καὶ στέφανον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, οὗ τὴν θέαν οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι καὶ ἰδεῖν· καὶ ἅ|μα τῷ λάμψαι τὸν ἥλιον f. 179
ἐξέτεινε καὶ ὁ φοῖνιξ τὰς αὐτοῦ πτέρυγας· ἐγὼ δὲ ἰδὼν τὴν τοιαύτην δόξαν ἐταπεινώθην φόβῳ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ἐξέφυγον καὶ ὑπεκρύβην ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξι τοῦ ἀγγέλου. καὶ εἶπέν

1 τίκουσι 4 μάνα 5 τὸν δρόσον 5, 6 ἀμφοδεύει 7 ἀμφόδευμα ὅπερ χρόντε 15 τῷ] το 18 μινυη 25 διδη 27 ἀνεφάνην 29 φέρωντες

μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Μὴ φοβοῦ, Βαρούχ, ἀλλὰ ἔκδεξαι, καὶ ὄψει καὶ τὴν δύσιν αὐτῶν.

8 Καὶ λαβών με ἤγαγέν με ἐπὶ δυσμάς· καὶ ὅταν ἦλθεν ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ δῦσαι, ὁρῶ πάλιν ἔμπροσθεν τὸν ὄρνεον ἐρχόμενον· καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτόν, ὁρῶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ ἦραν τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ ὄρνεον ἔστη τεταπεινωμένον καὶ συστέλλον τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα ἰδὼν ἐγὼ εἶπον· Κύριε, διὰ τί ἦραν τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ διὰ τί ἐστι τὸ ὄρνεον τοσοῦτον τεταπεινωμένον; καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Ὁ στέφανος τοῦ ἡλίου, ὅταν τὴν ἡμέραν διαδράμῃ, λαμβάνουσιν τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι | τοῦτον καὶ ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀνακαινίζουσιν αὐτόν, διὰ τὸ μεμολύνθαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ λοιπὸν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνακαινίζεται. καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Βαρούχ· Κύριε, καὶ διὰ τί μολύνονται αἱ ἀκτῖνες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Θεωρῶν τὰς ἀνομίας καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἤγουν πορνείας, μοιχείας, κλοπάς, ἁρπαγάς, εἰδωλολατρείας, μέθας, φόνους, ἔρεις, ζήλη, καταλαλίας, γογγυσμούς, ψιθυρισμούς, μαντείας, καὶ τὰ τούτων ὅμοια, ἅτινα οὐκ ἐστὶ τῷ θεῷ ἀρεστά· διὰ ταῦτα μολύνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνακαινίζεται. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ὀρνέου, τὸ πῶς ἐταπεινώθη· ἐπεὶ διὰ τὸ κατέχειν τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας, διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῆς ὁλοημέρου καύσεως, [ὡς] δι' αὐτῶν ταπεινοῦται· εἰ μὴ γὰρ αἱ τούτου πτέρυγες, ὡς προείπομεν, | περιέσκεπον τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα πνοή.

f. 179 b

f. 180

9 Καὶ τούτων συσταλέντων καὶ ἡ νὺξ κατέλαβεν καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ† καὶ μετὰ τῆς σελήνης καὶ με<τὰ> τῶν ἀστέρων. καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Βαρούχ· Κύριε, δεῖξόν μοι καὶ ταύτην, παρακαλῶ, πῶς ἐξέρχεται καὶ ποῦ ἀπέρχεται, καὶ ἐν ποίῳ σχήματι περιπατεῖ. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἀνάμεινον, καὶ ὄψει καὶ ταύτην ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον. καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ὁρῶ καὶ ταύτην ἐν σχήματι γυναικὸς καὶ καθημένην ἐπὶ ἅρματος τροχοῦ· καὶ ἦσαν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς βόες καὶ ἀμνοὶ ἐν τῷ

14 μεμολύνεσθαι 17 ἀκτῖναι 20 μεθεις ἔρρεις ζῆλοι 23 ἐταπεινώθην 26 δι' αυτον 28 *perhaps* συσταλέντων *ends the angel's speech, and something is lost after it* 29 ταυτης μετὰ και

ἅρματι, καὶ πλῆθος ἀγγέλων ὁμοίως· καὶ εἶπον· Κύριε, τί εἰσιν οἱ βόες καὶ οἱ ἀμνοί; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Ἄγγελοί εἰσιν καὶ αὐτοί. καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτησα· Καὶ τί ἐστιν ὅτι ποτὲ μὲν αὔξει, ποτὲ δὲ λήγει; καὶ <εἶπέν μοι>· Ἄκουσον, ὦ Βαρούχ· ταύτην ἣν βλέπεις ὡραία ἦν γεγραμμένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλη. καὶ ἐν τῇ παραβάσει τοῦ πρώτου Ἀδὰμ παρῆψε τῷ Σαμαὴλ ὅτε τὸν | ὄφιν ἔλαβεν ἔνδυμα· f. 180 b
οὐχ ὑπεκρύβη ἀλλὰ παρηύξησε, καὶ ὠργίσθη αὐτῇ ὁ θεός, καὶ ἔθλιψεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς. καὶ εἶπον· Καὶ πῶς οὐ λάμπει καὶ ἐν παντί, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ μόνον; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἄκουσον· ὥσπερ ἐνώπιον βασιλέως οὐ δύνανται οἱ οἰκέται παρρησιασθῆναι, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἡλίου δύνανται ἡ σελήνη καὶ <οἱ> ἀστέρες αὐγάσαι· ἀεὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀστέρες κρέμανται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου σκεπάζονται· καὶ ἡ σελήνη σῴα οὖσα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου θερμῆς ἐκδαπανᾶται.

Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου, λαβὼν **10**
ἤγαγέν με εἰς τέταρτον οὐρανόν· καὶ εἶδον πεδίον ἁπλοῦν, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ λίμνην ὑδάτων· καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ πλήθη ὀρνέων ἐκ πασῶν γενεῶν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅμοια τῶν ἐνταῦθα· ἀλλ' ἴδον τὸν γέρανον ὡς βόας μεγάλους· καὶ πάντα μεγάλα ὑπερέχοντα τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἠρώτησα τὸν ἄγγελον· Τί ἐστι τὸ | πεδίον, καὶ τίς ἡ λίμνη, καὶ τί τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν f. 181
πλῆθος τῶν ὀρνέων; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἄκουσον, Βαρούχ· τὸ μὲν πεδίον ἐστὶν τὸ περιέχον τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἄλλα θαυμαστὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗπερ ἔρχονται αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν δικαίων ὅταν ὁμιλῶσι συνδιάγοντες χοροὶ χοροί· τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ὅπερ τὰ νέφη λαμβάνοντα βρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ αὐξάνουσιν οἱ καρποί. καὶ εἶπον πάλιν τὸν ἄγγελον κυρίου· Τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα <τί>; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Αὐτά εἰσιν ἃ διαπαντὸς ἀνυμνοῦσι τὸν κύριον. καὶ εἶπον· Κύριε, καὶ πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶν τὸ ὕδωρ ὅπερ βρέχει; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Τὸ μὲν βρέχον ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὑδάτων καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν· τὸ δὲ

1 ὁμοιος 4 λιγη 5 γεγραμένη 7 παρῆψε τῷ] παρηψετο
8, 20 οὐκ 14 κρεμμανται 15 σκεδάζονται 18 τέταρτον] τρίτον
19 πλήθει 21 πάνταϛ 22 ὑπερέχοντα τῶν] ὑπάρχωντα τω 26 ὥπερ
27 ὁμιλοῦν 28 λαμβανοντες 31 Κύριε] κυ 33 βρέχειν

τοὺς καρποὺς ἐνεργοῦν ἐκ τούτου ἐστίν. ἴσθι οὖν τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅτι ἐκ τούτου ἐστὶν ὃ λέγεται δρόσος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

11 Καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου λαβών με ὁ ἄγγελος ἤγαγέν με εἰς
f. 181 *b* πέμπτον οὐρανόν. καὶ | ἦν ἡ πύλη κεκλεισμένη· καὶ εἶπον· Κύριε, οὐκ ἀνοίγεται ὁ πυλὼν οὗτος ὅπως εἰσέλθωμεν; καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Οὐ δυνάμεθα εἰσελθεῖν ἕως ἔλθῃ Μιχαὴλ ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἀλλ' ἀνάμεινον, καὶ ὄψει τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ μεγάλη ὡς βροντή· καὶ εἶπον· Κύριε, τί ἐστιν ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Ἄρτι κατέρχεται ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαὴλ ἵνα δέξηται τὰς δεήσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν φωνή· Ἀνοιγήτωσαν αἱ πύλαι. καὶ ἤνοιξαν, καὶ ἐγένετο τρισμὸς ὡς βροντῆς· καὶ ἦλθεν Μιχαήλ, καὶ συνήντησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν· Χαίροις, ὁ ἐμὸς ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἡμετέρου τάγματος. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαήλ· Χαίροις καὶ σύ, ὁ ἡμέτερος ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὁ τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις διερμηνεύων τοῖς καλῶς τὸν βίον διερχομένοις.
f. 182 καὶ | οὕτως ἀλλήλους κατασπασάμενοι ἔστησαν. καὶ ἴδον τον ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχαὴλ κρατοῦντα φιάλην μεγάλην σφόδρα· τὸ βάθος αὐτῆς ὅσον ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἕως τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ πλάτος ὅσον ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότου· καὶ εἶπον· Κύριε, τί ἐστιν ὃ κρατεῖ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Τοῦτό ἐστιν ἔνθα προσέρχονται αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ὅσα ἐργάζονται ἀγαθά, ἅτινα ἀποκομίζονται ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ.

12 Καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμιλεῖν με αὐτοῖς, ἰδοὺ ἦλθον ἄγγελοι φέροντες κανίσκια γέμοντα ἀνθῶν· καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Μιχαήλ. καὶ ἠρώτησα τὸν ἄγγελον· Κύριε, τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι, καὶ τί τὰ προσκομιζόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Οὗτοί εἰσιν ἄγγελοι <οἱ> ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν. καὶ λαβὼν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος τοὺς κανίσκους ἔβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν φιάλην· καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Ταῦτα τὰ ἄνθη εἰσὶν αἱ ἀρεταὶ
f. 182 *b* τῶν δικαίων. καὶ εἶδον ἑτέρους ἀγγέλους | φέροντας κανίσκια κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα· καὶ ἤρχοντο λυπούμενοι, καὶ οὐκ

1 ἰσθηται 10 Ἄρτι] ἀντι 12 ἀνοιγέτωσαν 13 τρισμός, *i.e. the creaking of the gate-hinges* 18 καλοῖς 20, 32 φιάλλην 28 ἀνθῶν] ανθ 32 εβαλλεν

ἐτόλμησαν ἐγγίσαι, διότι οὐκ εἶχον τέλεια τὰ βραβεῖα. καὶ ἐβόησεν Μιχαὴλ λέγων· Δεῦτε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἄγγελοι, φέρετε ὃ ἠνέγκατε. καὶ ἐλυπήθη Μιχαὴλ σφόδρα, καὶ ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἄγγελος, διό<τι> οὐκ ἐγέμισαν τὴν φιάλην.

Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἦλθον ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι κλαίοντες καὶ **13** ὀδυρόμενοι καὶ μετὰ φόβου λέγοντες· Ἴδε ἡμᾶς μεμελανωμένους, κύριε, ὅτι πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις παρεδόθημεν, καὶ θέλομεν ὑποχωρῆσαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαήλ· Οὐ δύνασθε ὑποχωρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος κυριεύσῃ ὁ ἐχθρός· ἀλλ' εἴπατέ μοι τί αἰτεῖσθε. καὶ εἶπον· Δεόμεθά σου, Μιχαὴλ ἀρχιστράτηγε ἡμῶν, μεταθὲς ἡμᾶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀνθρώποις πονηροῖς καὶ ἄφροσι προσμένειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα ἀδικία καὶ πλεονεξία· οὐ γὰρ εἴδομεν αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ, οὐδὲ εἰς πνευματι|κοὺς πατέρας οὐδὲ εἰς f. 183 ἀγαθὸν ἕν· ἀλλ' ὅπου φόνος, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν μέσῳ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὅπου πορνεῖαι, μοιχεῖαι, κλεψίαι, καταλαλίαι, ἐπιορκίαι, φθόνοι, μέθαι, ἔρεις, ζῆλος, γογγυσμός, ψιθυρισμός, εἰδωλολατρισμός, μαντεία, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, ἐκεῖ εἰσιν ἐργάται τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἑτέρων χειρόνων. διὸ δεόμεθα ἐξελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπ' αὐτούς. καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαὴλ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις· Ἐκδέξασθε ἕως οὗ μάθω παρὰ κυρίου τὸ τί γένηται.

Καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Μιχαήλ, καὶ ἐκλείσθησαν **14** αἱ θύραι· καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ ὡς βροντή· καὶ ἠρώτησα τὸν ἄγγελον· Τί ἐστιν ἡ φωνή; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Ἄρτι προσφέρει Μιχαὴλ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὰς τῷ θεῷ.

Καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατῆλθεν ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἠνοίγη ἡ **15** πύλη· καὶ ἤνεγκεν ἔλαιον· καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰ κανίσκια πλήρης ἐπλήρωσεν αὐτὰ ἔλαιον λέγων· Ἀπενέγκατε, δότε ἑκατονταπλασίονα τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς φίλοις ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόνως ἐργασαμένοις | τὰ καλὰ ἔργα. f. 183 *b* οἱ γὰρ καλῶς σπείραντες καὶ καλῶς ἐπισυνάγουσιν. καὶ λέγει καὶ τοὺς ἀποκένους φέροντας τὰς κανίσκους· Δεῦτε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀπολάβετε τὸν μισθὸν καθὼς ἠνέγκατε, καὶ ἀπόδοτε τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. εἶτα λέγει καὶ τοῖς τὰ

1 ἐτύλμωσαν 8, 9 ἀπ' αὐτῶν] ὑπ' αὐτῶν 9 δυνασται κυριεύσει
17 κλαιψεῖαι 18 μεθοις αιροις ψινθηρισμος 19 μαντιας τουτοι
20 χεῖρων 22 γενητ ἂν 30 φιλοι 31 εμπονοις 34 ἀπολλάβετε

γέμοντα ἐνεγκοῦσι καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἀπόκενα· Πορευθέντες εὐλογήσατε τοὺς φίλους ἡμῶν καὶ εἴπατε αὐτοῖς ὅτι Τάδε λέγει κύριος· Ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ ἐστὲ πιστοί, ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὑμᾶς καταστήσει· εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου ὑμῶν.

16 Καὶ στραφεὶς λέγει καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἐνεγκοῦσιν· Τάδε λέγει κύριος· Μή ἐστε σκυθρωποί, καὶ μὴ κλαίετε, μηδὲ ἐάσατε τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν, πορευθέντες παραζηλώσατε αὐτοὺς καὶ παροργίσατε καὶ παραπικράνατε ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ· ἔτι σὺν τούτοις ἐξαποστείλατε κάμπην καὶ βροῦχον καὶ ἐρυσίβην καὶ ἀκρίδα <καὶ> χά-
f. 184 λαζαν μετὰ ἀστραπῶν καὶ | ὀργῆς, καὶ διχοτομήσατε αὐτοὺς ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἐν δαιμονίοις· ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς μου, οὐδὲ ἐσυνετήρησαν τῶν ἐντολῶν μου, οὐδὲ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ' ἐγένοντο καταφρονηταὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν μου, καὶ ὑβρισταὶ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν τοὺς λόγους μου κηρυττόντων αὐτοῖς.

17 Καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ ἐκλείσθη ἡ θύρα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνεχωρήσαμεν· καὶ λαβών με ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπεκατέστησέν με εἰς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθὼν δόξαν ἔφερον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀξιώσαντί με τοιούτου ἀξιώματος. ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, οἱ τυχόντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποκαλύψεως, δοξάσατε καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν θεόν, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς δοξάσῃ ὑμᾶς νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

3 εσθαι 3, 4 ἡμᾶς κατασθήσει 4 ἡμῶν 15 ἐποιήσασιν 23 δοξάσει ἡμᾶς.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

TRANSLATED FROM THE SLAVONIC BY

W. R. MORFILL, M.A.

READER IN RUSSIAN AND THE OTHER SLAVONIC LANGUAGES
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH,

When he wept about the people of Jerusalem and an angel was sent to him.

1. When king Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and enriched Babylon, lo I, Baruch, wept without ceasing and said: O Lord, what an unrighteous thing has been done by Nebuchadnezzar, and why hast thou not protected thy city Jerusalem? why hast thou done this, O Lord? And as I was thus weeping, lo an angel of the Lord stood by me and said: Be silent, O man, from thy grief, for it is fitting that Jerusalem should experience these things. But so says the Lord, the ruler of all, and has sent me before thy face, that I should tell thee all the secrets of God, for thy weeping has come to the ears of the Lord our God. But tell me that thou wilt neither add nor conceal a word, and I will tell thee secrets which the mind of man has never at any time seen. And I, Baruch, said to the angel: As my Lord God liveth, if thou shewest me, I do not wish to add or conceal a single word.

2. And the angel took me forcibly and brought me into the heavenly firmament, and it was the first heaven, and in that heaven there are very great doors; and the angel said to me: Let us come in by these doors. And it was a journey of fifty days, and he shewed me the salvation of God. And we saw a great field, and there were men living in it; they had the faces of oxen, and the horns of stags and the feet of goats, and the bellies of sheep. And I asked the angel and said: Tell me what is the thickness of the heavens, through which we have passed, or what is this field, so that I may tell the sons of men. And the angel Phanuel said to me: The doors which thou seest, by which we passed, as great as the expanse from the East to the West, so is the thickness of the heavens, this great field. And I said to the angel: And these men in strange forms, who are they? And he said to me: These are they who built the tower, and God has transformed them.

3. And the angel took me and brought me to the second heaven, and shewed me the great doors open, and he said: Let us go in. And we entered flying, as it were a journey of seven days. And he shewed me a great house, and there were in it living creatures of various forms, whose faces were like those of dogs, and their feet like those of stags, and their horns like those of goats. I, Baruch, asked the angel and said: Who are these? And he said to me: These are those who built the tower wishing to go into heaven. For they made a tower and drove thither all people of the male and female sex. For there you might have seen some cutting wood, some making clay, some throwing lime, and some burning stone. And there was great trouble there for those people from the East to the West: so that each of them cast away his life. And there was great vexation to those people. And there women gave birth to children, but, having given birth, did not cease casting the lime. And when she had taken her upper garment, and wrapped it round (the child), she cast it on the earth, and again went on with the same work. And they built the tower, eighty thousand fathoms and in breadth five: and they fashioned gimlets, so as to pierce heaven, that they should see whether it was stone or copper. And God saw their folly and their high-mindedness, and struck them with an unseen rod, and divided their languages into thirty-three languages. And each went on speaking in his own tongue, for they were before speaking with one language, the Syrian, from the time of Adam to the building of the tower.

4, 5. So the angel took me to the light, a journey of thirty-two days, and shewed me a great field; the mind of man could not comprehend it; and in that field there was a very great mountain, and on it lay a serpent as from the East to the West, and it bent down drinking from the sea every day a cubit, and ate the earth like grass. And I, Baruch, said to the angel: My Lord, why does this serpent drink from the sea a cubit during the day, and how is it that the sea does not become scanty? And the angel said unto me: Listen, Baruch, God made three hundred, three and thirty great rivers; the first is the river Aphia, the second Avaria, the third Agorenik, the fourth Dunav (the Danube), the fifth Ephrat (the Euphrates), the sixth Asavat, the seventh Ziet-

nust, the eighth Ineus, the ninth Tigris. There are many other great rivers, and they all go into the sea, and the sea is filled. On account of this God made this serpent, and ordered it to drink of the sea a cubit a day, so that the sea should not increase nor diminish. And I, Baruch, said to the angel: My Lord, how great is the stomach of this serpent that he can drink of the sea during the day at the rate of a cubit, and eats earth like grass? And the angel said unto me: As great as is the bottom of hell, so great is his stomach. And I, Baruch, said to the angel: Shew me the tree by which Adam and Eve were seduced and driven out of Paradise. And the angel said unto me: Hear, Baruch; the first is the vine, and the second the sinful longing which Satanaïl poured upon Adam and Eve; on this account God has cursed the vine because Satanaïl planted it; and then he cursed Adam and Eve. And I said: If God has cursed the vine, how is it still in use? And the angel said: When God caused the deluge upon the earth, and the water came forth over the high mountains, forty cubits over the mountains, and Noe alone remained, the water came into Paradise and brought out the vine. When the water was dried up, Noe came out of the ship and found the vine lying on the earth, and did not know what it was; for he had heard of it, what it was in appearance, and he thought within himself: It is truly the vine which Satanaïl planted in Paradise and deceived Adam and Eve, and on this account God cursed it. And Noe said: If I plant it God will be angry with me. And bending his knees he prayed and fasted forty days, praying and saying: O Lord, if I plant this vine, wilt thou be angry with me, my Lord? And God sent his angel Sarsail, and said to him: Rise up and plant the tree which thou hast found, and I will change its name and make it for a good purpose. Watch, Baruch, to see if there is evil in it, as in the case of Satanaïl. Its evil nature is not changed; when they drink they sin; brother does not love brother, nor father son: through the evil of wine there is contention and impurity, theft and wickedness.

6. And again the angel spake: Go, Baruch, and I will tell thee all the secrets, and thou shalt see from whence comes the sun. And he shewed me the chariot having four horses, which are winged angels: upon that chariot a man was sitting and wore a

fiery crown: this chariot was drawn by four hundred angels, and there was a bird flying from the East to the West. And I said to the angel: O my Lord, shew me about everything. And the angel told me: The man sitting on the chariot, wearing a fiery crown, this is the sun; and the bird flying is the guardian of the whole world. And the angel said to me: This bird spreads out its wings and hides the fiery rays of the sun. For if he did not hide the fiery rays of the sun, the race of men could not live on the earth, nor any creature, from the burning heat of the sun. And this bird is ordered to labour till the end of the world. But see what is written on the right wing. And I approached and read, and there were letters like a stream of gold on a threshing-floor; and this was written: Neither heaven nor earth hath produced me, but the son of the father [hath produced me]. And I asked the angel: What is this bird? And he said to me: His name is the phœnix.

7, 8. And the angel said to me: Come near, Baruch, a little, and thou shalt see the glory of God. And we were standing and singing an angel's song, and we heard a great thunder in the heaven. I asked the angel: What, I pray, is this thunder? And he said to me: This thunder which thou hearest separates the light of the sun from the darkness, and the angels are bringing the crown to the throne of God. And I saw the sun going like a man melancholy and sad. I saw this bird melancholy and sad, going with him. And I asked the angel: Why is this bird melancholy and sad? And the angel said: This bird is melancholy and sad from the heat of the sun. And I heard him [the bird] calling: O God that givest light, send light to the world. And immediately the cocks crowed. And again I asked the angel: Is there much rest to the sun? And the angel said to me: From the time when the fowls sing till there is light. And the angel said to me: Listen, Baruch, I will tell thee of the going forth of the sun. When the day passes there come four hundred angels, and they take the crown of the sun and bring it to the throne of God, for he is grieved at the sins of men, and when the sun goes under the heaven he cannot endure to see the lawlessness of men, murders upon the earth, riot, impurity; and he laments, defiling his crown. On this account it is purified at the throne of God.

9. And again I said to the angel: My Lord, tell me of the course of the moon, that I may know what it is. And the angel said: The moon is like a woman sitting on a chariot, and [like] oxen drawing her chariot are forty angels, and they are all angels. The form of the moon is like a woman sitting on a chariot.

And I, Baruch, said to the angel: Concerning this I wish to ask thee why the moon has not the same light as the sun. And the angel said to me: Listen, Baruch, and I will tell thee. Thou shalt know all, and thou shalt know it: When the serpent deceived Adam and Eve and made appear their nakedness, and they wept bitterly about their nakedness, and the whole creation wept about them, the heavens, the sun, and the stars; and creation was shaken to the throne of God, the angels and the powers were stirred concerning the sin of Adam, but the moon laughed: on this account God was angry with her, and darkened her light, and caused her in a short time to grow old and to be born again; but at first she was not so, but was brighter than the sun and had the length of the day.

10. And again the angel took me forcibly and shewed me a very great lake and said to me: This is the lake whence the clouds draw water and send rain upon the earth. And I, Baruch, said to the angel: How do men say that the clouds go out of the sea, draw up the water of the sea, and rain on the earth? And the angel said to me: The race of man is deceived, knowing nothing. All the water of the sea is salt, for if the rain came from the sea, no fruit would grow on the earth.

11. And the angel took me forcibly and put me in the heavens and shewed me the very great gates. And the names of men were written on them. And the angel said to me: The men who may enter here, their names are here. And I, Baruch, said to the angel: Will not these doors open, that we may come into them? And the angel said to me: They will not open till Michael comes; but come and thou shalt see the glory of God. And as we were waiting, there was a voice from the heavens like thunder. And I said to the angel: What is this voice? And he said: Michael is going out that he may receive the prayers of men. And already there was a voice, saying that the gates should be opened. And they were opened. And there was thunder, greater than before, and Michael came and met the angel who was with

me, and he bowed down to him. And I saw in his hand a great receptacle, and *it was* as deep as the distance between heaven and earth. And I said to the angel: My Lord, what is it that Michael holds in his hand? And the angel said to me: This is that into which the prayers of men enter.

12. And as he was saying these things, the angels came from the earth bringing gifts full of flowers. And I said to the angel: My Lord, who are these? And the angel said to me: These are those who wait upon righteous men, from whom they bring good gifts; and Michael receives the gifts. And Michael deposited them in the receptacle.

13, 14. And I saw other angels bringing empty treasures, not containing anything. And they were sad on account of the sins of men, for they cannot find anything in them. And they lamented to the captain, Michael: Oh! woe to us, for we are given up to evil punishment, not finding among them anything just; for if it were possible, we would not have returned to them and would not have smelt their stench: and when their wives had fled to the churches, they brought them out for impurity, and committed every kind of wickedness, so that we could not endure life any longer with those who were disobedient.

15, 16. But Michael said: Listen, ye angels of God; it is not ordered that you should depart from sinful men, but you are ordered to labour for them till they repent and turn: I will judge them, saith the Lord. And again there was a voice from the heavens: Attend upon the sinners till they repent; for if they do not repent, then ye shall inflict upon them a cruel disease and sudden death, and locusts and caterpillars, frost, and thunder and hail and demons, and the destruction of their cities; and ye shall strangle their children, because God is not feared [among them], and they do not gather together in the Church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings.

The angel said to me: Look, servant of God, and see the resting-place of the righteous and their glory and joy and delight: and again see the resting-place of the wicked, their tears and sighs, and worms that never sleep. The sinners call to Heaven: O just judge, have pity upon us. And I, Baruch, said to the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are

the sinners. And I said to the angel: Bid me, my Lord, that I may weep with them, so that the Lord may hear my voice and pity them.

17. A voice came from heaven, saying: Take Baruch to the earth, that he may tell to the sons of men all the secrets of God, which he has seen and heard. Glory for ever to our God! Amen.

TESTAMENTUM IOBI

Mt. i. 1 I. Βίβλος λόγων Ἰὼβ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἰωβάβ· ἐν ᾗ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ νοσήσας ἐξετέλει αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, ἐκά-
Iob i. 2 λεσεν τοὺς ἑπτὰ υἱοὺς καὶ τὰς τρεῖς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ, ὧν εἰσιν τὰ ὀνόματα Τερσι· χορος· υων· νικη· φορος· φιφη·
Iob xlii. 14 φρούων· Ἡμέρα· Κασία· Ἀμαλθίας κέρας· καλέσας δὲ 5
αὐτοῦ τὰ τέκνα εἶπεν· Περικυκλώσατε, τέκνα μου, περι-
κυκλώσατέ με, ἵνα ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν ἃ ἐποίησεν κύριος μετ'
ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰ γενάμενά μοι πάντα· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ πατὴρ
ὑμῶν Ἰὼβ ἐν πάσῃ ὑπομονῇ γενόμενος, ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος
Isa. xliii. 20 ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰακὼβ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς 10
1 Pet. ii. 4 (6) μητρὸς ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ἡσαὺ ἀδελφοῦ
Iob xlii. 17 c Ἰακώβ, οὗ ἡ μητὴρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν Δίνα, ἐξ ἧς ἐγέννησα ὑμᾶς·
Mt. i. 16 ἡ γὰρ προτέρα μου γυνὴ ἐτελεύτησεν μετὰ ἄλλων δέκα
1 Reg. xv. 32 τέκνων ἐν θανάτῳ πικρῷ. Ἀκούσατε οὖν μου, τέκνα, καὶ
Sir. xli. 1 δηλώσω ὑμῖν τὰ συμβεβηκότα μοι. 15

Readings of P. 6 περικυκλώσαντες *prima manu*, corrected

Readings of M (Mai, *Scriptt. Vett. Nov. Coll.* vii. 180). *Title.* Διαθήκη τοῦ ἀμέμπτου καὶ πολυάθλου καὶ μακαρίου Ἰώβ. 1 *om.* λόγων Ἰωβάβ] + καὶ βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης αὐτοῦ 2 γὰρ] ἂν ἐξετέλει—οἰκονομίαν] καὶ ἐγνωκὼς τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος 3 θυγ. *post* αὐτοῦ 3—6 *om.* ὧν—τὰ τέκνα εἶπεν] καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς 7 ἵνα ὑποδ. ὑμῖν] καὶ ἀκούσατε κ. διηγήσομαι ὑμῖν 8 γενάμενα] συμβάντα 8, 9 ὁ πατ. ὑμ. Ἰώβ] Ἰὼβ ὁ πατ. ὑμ. 9—11 ἐν πάσῃ—μητρὸς ὑμῶν] ὃ ἐντέκνα μου ὅτι γένος ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐστὲ καὶ τηρήσατε τὴν εὐγενίαν ὑμῶν 11, 12 ἀδελφοῦ—Δίνα] ἀδελφὸς Ναώρ· μητὴρ δὲ ἡμῶν Δῆνα ἧς] ὧν 13 μετὰ] + τῶν 14 θανάτῳ πικρῷ *trs.* *om.* μου

II. Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Ἰωβάβ, πρὶν ἢ υνυμάσαι με ὁ κύριος Ἰώβ· ὅτε Ἰωβὰβ ἐκαλούμην, ᾤκουν τὸ πρὶν ἔγγιστα εἰδωλίου θρησκευομένου· καὶ συνεχῶς βλέπων ὁλοκαυτώματα αὐτῷ ἀναφερόμενα διελογιζόμην ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων· Ἆρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς; ἄρα πῶς γνώσομαι; Iob xlii. 17 *b* Mt. xvi. 7 Lc. xii. 17 etc. Ex. xx. 11

III. Καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κοιμωμένου μου ἦλθέν μοι μεγάλη φωνὴ ἐν μείζονι φωτὶ λέγουσα· Ἰωβάβ, Ἰωβάβ. καὶ εἶπον· Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀνάστηθι καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὃν γνῶναι θέλεις· οὗτος ᾧ τὰ ὁλοκαυτώματα προσφέρουσιν καὶ σπένδουσιν οὐκ ἔστι θεός, ἀλλ' αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ διαβόλου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπατηθήσεται ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας κατέπεσα ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην μου προσκυνῶν καὶ λέγων· Κύριέ μου, ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἐλθών, δέομαί σου, εἴπερ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν ᾧ ἀπατηθήσονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, δός μοι ἐξουσίαν ἵνα ἀπελθὼν καθαρίσω αὐτοῦ τὸν τόπον, ἵνα ποιήσω μηκέτι σπένδεσθαι αὐτόν· καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ κωλύων με, βασιλεύοντα ταύτης τῆς χώρας; Iac. ii. 20 cf. Rev. xii 9 2 Macc. ii. 19, x. 7 Act. viii. 36, x. 47

IV. Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐμοὶ εἶπεν τὸ φῶς Ὅτι μὲν καθαρίσαι τοῦτον τὸν τόπον δυνήσῃ· ἀλλὰ ὑποδείκνυμί

Readings of P. 1 ἢ] ι 3 θρησκευομένου] θρισκ. 11 ᾧ] οὗ 22 καθαρίσαι] καθαιρίσαι

Readings of M. 1—3 ἐγὼ—θρησκευομένου] ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤμην πλούσιος σφόδρα τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Αὐσιτίδι· καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καλέσαι με ὁ κύριος Ἰώβ, ἐκαλούμην Ἰωβάβ· ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐγένετο οὕτως· ἦν γὰρ πλησίον τοῦ οἴκου εἴδωλόν τινος θρησκευόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ 3 βλέπων] ἔβλεπον 4 ἀναφερόμενα] προσφερόμενα ὡς θεῷ ἐν ἑαυτῷ] ἐμαυτῷ 5 λέγων] καὶ ἔλεγον om. ὁ θεὸς 6 ἡμᾶς αὐτούς] πάντας ἡμᾶς 7 γνώσομαι] + τὸ ἀληθές 8 νυκτὶ] + ἐκείνῃ 9 om. μεγάλη om. ἐν—φωτὶ 10 om. καὶ εἶπον—καὶ εἶπεν 11 οὗτος sec.] + τοίνυν 12 προσφέρουσιν] + οἱ ἄνθρωποι 13, 14 ἀλλ' αὕτη—ἀκούσας] ἀλλ' ἔστι δύναμις αὕτη καὶ ἐργασία τοῦ διαβόλου, ἐν ᾗ ἀπατᾷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· κἀγὼ ταῦτα ἀκούσας 14, 15 κατέπεσα—προσκυνῶν καὶ] ἔπεσον εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ προσεκύνησα 16 om. τῇ ἐλθών] μοι λαλῶν 17 τόπος] τύπος om. ἐν ᾧ—ἄνθρωποι 18, 19 δός—σπένδ. αὐτόν] δέομαί σου, κέλευσόν με ἀπελθεῖν κ. ἀφανίσαι αὐτὸν κ. καθαρίσαι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον 19, 20 καὶ τίς—χώρας] οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ κωλύων με τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, βασιλέα ὄντα τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἵνα μηκέτι πλανηθῶσιν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ 21 Καὶ—φῶς] καὶ ἀπεκρίθη μοι ἡ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς λέγουσα om. μὲν 22 δυνήσῃ] δυνήσεις ὑποδείκνυμι] ἰδοὺ ἀποδείκνυμι

Ex. vii. 2 etc., xiv. 31 Iob i. 8 (A) Rev. ii. 13, cf. Eph. iv. 27 Rev. xii. 7, 17 Ps. xxvi. 6 cf. Act. xvi. 23 Mt. ii. 16 Heb. x. 32 Iac. i. 12, v. 11 Dan. xii. 13 Mt. xiii. 39 He. ix. 26 1 Pet. i. 17 Prov. xxiv. 12 2 Par. vi. 23 Ex. xx. 5 1 Cor. ix. 25, 26 Heb. xi. 27 Is. xli. 10 Rev. ii. 10 Rev. vii. 3

σοι πάντα ἅπερ ἐνετείλατό μοι κύριος μεταδιδόναι σοι. κἀγὼ εἶπον ὅτι Πάντα ὅσα ἐνετείλατό μοι τῷ θεράποντι αὐτοῦ ἀκούσομαι καὶ πράξω. καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν· Τάδε λέγει κύριος· Ἐὰν ἐπιχειρήσεις καθαρίσαι τὸν τόπον τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ἐπαναστήσεταί σοι μετὰ ὀργῆς εἰς πόλεμον· μόνον ὅτι τὸν θάνατόν σοι οὐ δυνήσεται ἐπενεγκεῖν· ἐπιφέρει δέ σοι πληγὰς πολλάς· ἀφαιρεῖται σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα· τὰ παιδία σου ἀναιρήσει· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὑπομείνῃς, ποιήσω σου τὸ ὄνομα ὀνομαστὸν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς τῆς γῆς ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ πάλιν ἀνακάμψω σε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σου, καὶ ἀποδοθήσεταί σοι διπλάσιον· ἵνα γνῷς ὅτι ἀπροσωπόληπτός ἐστιν, ἀποδιδοὺς ἑκάστῳ τῷ ὑπακούοντι ἀγαθά· καὶ ἐγερθήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει· ἔσῃ γὰρ ὡς ἀθλητὴς πυκτεύων καὶ καρτερῶν πόνους καὶ ἐκδεχόμενος τὸν στέφανον· τότε γνώσει ὅτι δίκαιος καὶ ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ὁ κύριος, ἐνισχύων τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ.

V. Καὶ ἐγώ, τεκνία μου, ἀνταπεκρίθην αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἄχρι θανάτου ὑπομείνω καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναποδίσω. καὶ μετὰ τὸ σφραγισθῆναί με ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἀπελθόντος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, τότε ἐγώ, τεκνία μου, ἀναστὰς ἐν τῇ ἑξῆς νυκτί, παρα-

Readings of M. 1 μεταδιδόναι σοι] εἰπεῖν σοι· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἀρχάγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ 2 ἐνετείλατό μοι] ἐντελεῖται 3 *om.* καὶ πράξω πάλιν εἶπεν] εἶπέ μοι ὁ ἀρχάγγελος 4 Ἐὰν—καθαρίσαι] εἰ ἀπολέσαι ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ καθαίρεις τόπον] τύπον 5, 6 ἐπαναστήσεται] ἀναστ. πόλεμον]+καὶ ἐνδείξεται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτοῦ *om.* μόνον—ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐπιφέρει δὲ] ἐποίσει 7, 8 πληγὰς πολλάς] πολλ. πληγ. καὶ χαλεπάς ἀφαιρεῖται] καὶ ἀφαιρ. σου] ἀπό σου πάντα τὰ παιδία] τά τε π. 8—10 ἀναιρ.—ἀνακ.] ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πολλὰ κακά σοι ποιήσει καὶ ἐπεὶ (*l.* ἔσει) ὡς ἀθλητὴς πυκτεύων καὶ καρτερῶν πόνους καὶ ἐκδεχόμενος τὸν μισθόν, καὶ τοὺς πειρασμοὺς προσκα<ρ>τερῶν καὶ τὰς θλίψεις· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ταῦτα ὑπομένῃς —αἰῶνος· καὶ πάλιν ἐπανακάμψω 11 διπλάσιον] διπλάσια πάντα ὧν ἀπολέσεις 12 ἀπροσωπόλ. ἐστιν]+ὁ θεός 13 ἀγαθά]+ἃ καί σοι δωρήσεται, καὶ στέφανον ἀμαράντινον κομίσεις καὶ ἐγερθήσῃ] ἐγερθήσει δὲ καὶ ἀναστάσει]+εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον 15 γνώσει] γνώσεις 16, 17 ἀληθινὸς] ἀληθὴς *om.* ἐνισχύων—αὐτοῦ 18 Καὶ ἐγώ, τεκνία] ἐγὼ δέ, τέκνα 18, 19 Ἄχρι—ἀναποδίσω] ὑπομένω μέχρι θανάτου πάντα τὰ ἐπερχόμενά μοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναπηδήσω 19—p. 5, 1 καὶ μετὰ—μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ] τότε ὁ ἄγγελος σφραγίσαμενός με ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς ἀναστὰς τῇ νυκτὶ ἔλαβον

λαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πεντήκοντα παῖδας καὶ εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ εἰδωλίου ἀπελθών, κατήνεγκα αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ οὕτως ἀνεχώρησα εἰς τὸν οἰκόν μου, κελεύσας ἀσφαλισθῆναι τὰς θύρας. cf. Judg. vi. 25 sqq. Is. xxvi. 5

VI. Ἀκούσατέ μου, τεκνία, καὶ θαυμάσατε· ἅμα γὰρ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν οἰκόν μου καὶ τὰς θύρας μου ἀσφαλισάμενος ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς προθύροις μου ὅτι Εἴ τις σήμερον ζητήσῃ με, μὴ σημανθήτω, ἀλλ' εἴπατε ὅτι Οὐ σχολάζει· περὶ γὰρ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου ἔνδον ἐστιν. Καὶ ἐμοῦ ἔνδον ὄντος, ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασχηματισθεὶς εἰς ἐπαίτην ἔκρουσεν τὴν θύραν καὶ λέγει· Σήμανον τῷ Ἰωβ λέγουσα ὅτι Βούλομαι συντυχεῖν σοι. καὶ ἡ θυρωρὸς εἰσελθοῦσα λέγει μοι ταῦτα καὶ ἤκουσεν παρ' ἐμοῦ δηλῶσαι μὴ σχολάζειν με νῦν. Mt. xxvii. 64 Act. xvi. 23, 24 Mt. xii. 45 2 Cor. xi. 14 Lc. xiii. 25 2 Reg. iv. 6

VII. Ὁ δὲ Σατανᾶς ἀκούσας ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἐπέθετο τοῖς ὤμοις ἀσσάλιον, καὶ ἐλθὼν λελάληκεν τῇ θυρωρῷ λέγων· Εἰπὸν τῷ Ἰώβ, Δός μοι ἄρτον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἵνα φάγω. καὶ ἐγὼ ἄρτον ἐκκεκαυμένον δέδωκα τῇ παιδὶ διδόναι αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ ὅτι Μηκέτι προσδόκα φαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων, ὅτι ἀπηλλοτρίωσαί μου. καὶ ἡ θυρωρὸς αἰδεσθεῖσα δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὸν ἐκκεκαυμένον καὶ σποδοείδην ἄρτον, ἐπεὶ [εἰ] μὴ ἔγνωκεν εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν Σατανᾶν, ἦρεν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἕνα ἄρτον καλὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν καὶ γνοὺς τὸ γεγονός, εἶπεν τῇ παιδί· Ἀπελθοῦσα, κακὴ δούλη, φέρε τὸν δοθέντα σοι δοθῆναί Eph. ii. 12 Col. i. 21

Readings of P. 10 ἐπέτην 24 γεγονώς

Readings of M. 1, 2 καὶ εἰς—ἔδαφος] ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ εἰδωλείου καὶ ὁλόθρευσα αὐτὸν ἄχρις ἐδάφους 5—7 om. Ἀκούσατε—ἀσφαλισάμενος 7 ἐνετειλάμην] ἐντειλάμενος 8, 9 σημανθήτω]+μοι εἴπατε]+αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐ σχολάζει—ἔνδον ἐστιν] σχολάζει περὶ πραγμάτων ἀναγκαίων, ἔνδον ἐστιν 9, 10 Καὶ—ὄντος] τότε 11 τὴν θύραν κ. λέγει] τῇ θύρᾳ λέγων τῇ θυρωρῷ 12 σοι] αὐτῷ 13, 14 δηλῶσαι—νῦν] ὅτι σχολάζω 15, 16 Ὁ δὲ—ἀσσάλιον] ἀστοχήσας ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πονηρὸς ἀπελθὼν ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους αὐτοῦ ἀσσ. ῥακκώδη ἐλθὼν] εἰσελθὼν 17 Ἰώβ]+ὅτι 18 κ. ἐγὼ] κ. ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἄρτον—παιδί] ἔδωκα αὐτῇ ἄρτον ἐκκεκ. 19 διδόναι] δοῦναι εἶπον] ἐδήλωσα Μηκ. προσδ. φαγ.] μηκ. φαγ. προσδ. 20 ἀπηλλοτρίωσαί μου] ἀπηλλοτριώθην σοι (*l.* σου) 21, 22 δοῦναι] ἐπιδοῦναι τὸν ἐκκ. κ. σποδ. ἄρτ.] τὸν ἐκκ. ἄρτ. κ. σποδ. 22, 23 ἐπεὶ—Σατ.] μὴ ἰδοῦσα ὅτι ὁ Σ. ἐστὶν ἑαυτῆς—καλὸν] αὐτῆς ἄρτων τῶν κ. 24 παιδί] παιδίσκῃ 25 φέρε]+μοι

μοι ἄρτον. καὶ ἔκλαυσεν μετὰ λύπης μεγάλης ἡ παῖς λέγουσα· Ἀληθῶς καλῶς σὺ λέγεις εἶναί με κακὴν δούλην· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἤμην, ἐποίησα ἂν καθὼς προσετάχθη μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου μου. καὶ ὑποστρέψασα προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὸν κεκαυμένον ἄρτον, λέγουσα αὐτῷ· Τάδε λέγει ὁ κύριός
Mt. xv. 16 μου, ὅτι Οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ φάγῃς ἐκ τῶν ἄρτων μου, ὅτι ἀπηλλοτριώθην σου· ἀκμὴν καὶ τοῦτό σοι ἔδωκα ἵνα μὴ
Mt. v. 14 ἐγκληθῶ ὅτι τῷ αἰτήσαντι ἐχθρῷ οὐδὲν παρέσχον. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Σατανᾶς ἀντέπεμψέν μοι τὴν παῖδα, λέγων ὅτι Ὡς ὁλόκαυστός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος, ποιήσω καὶ τὸ σῶμά σου τοιοῦτον· ἐν γὰρ μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἀπέρχομαι καὶ ἐρημώσω σε.
Io. xiii. 28 καὶ ἀνταπεκρίθην αὐτῷ· Ὃ ποιεῖς ποίησον· εἴ τι γὰρ βούλει ἀγάγαι μοι, ἕτοιμός εἰμι ὑποστῆναι ἅπερ ἐπιφέρεις μοι.

Lc. iv. 13 cf. Rev. xviii. 1 VIII. Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀπελθὼν ὑπὸ τὸ στερέωμα ὅρκωσεν τὸν κύριον ἵνα λάβῃ ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μου· καὶ τότε λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρὰ θεοῦ ἦλθεν καὶ ἦρέν μου σύμπαντα τὸν πλοῦτον.

IX. Ἀκούσατε οὖν, ὑποδείξω γὰρ ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ
Iob i. 3 συμβεβηκότα μοι καὶ τὰ ἀρθέντα μοι. εἶχον γὰρ ἑκατὸν
Iob xxxi. 20 τριάκοντα χιλιάδας προβάτων καὶ ἀφόρησα ἀπ' αὐτῶν χιλιάδας ἑπτὰ καιρῆναι εἰς ἔνδυσιν ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν καὶ πενήτων καὶ ἀδυνάτων· ἦν δέ μοι ἀγέλη κυνῶν ὀκτακόσιοι φυλάσσοντές μου τὸν οἶκον· εἶχον δὲ καμήλους ἐννακισ-
Iob i. 3 χιλίους· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐξελεξάμην τρισχιλίας ἐργάζεσθαι

Readings of M. 1 μετὰ—παῖς] ἡ π. μ. λύπ. μεγάλης 2 *om.* καλῶς σὺ 3 εἰ γὰρ—ἂν] ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησα 4 προσήνεγκεν] ἤνεγκεν 5 *om.* ὁ 6 *om.* Οὐκέτι μου]+ἔτι 7 σου] σοι *om.* ἀκμὴν τοῦτο] τοῦτον 8 ἐγκληθῶ] ἐγκλεισθῶ παρέσχον] παρέσχου ταῦτα] καὶ ταῦτα 10, 11 Ὡς—ἐρημώσω σε] ὡς ὁρᾷς τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον τὸν ὁλόκαυτον, οὕτω ποιήσω ἐν τάχει καὶ τὸ σῶμά σου τοιοῦτον 12 *om.* αὐτῷ 12—14 εἴ τι—ἐπιφέρεις μοι] καὶ οἵᾳ βούλῃ ἀγωγῇ ἔργασον· ἕτοιμος γάρ εἰμι ὑποστῆναι ἅπερ προσφέρεις μοι 15 Ὅτε δὲ] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ διάβολος ἐμοῦ]+καὶ 16 *om.* κατὰ 17 μου] μοι *om.* τότε παρὰ θεοῦ *post* λαβὼν 18 σύμπ. τ. πλοῦτον] τ. σύμπ. πλοῦτ. παραχρῆμα 19, 20 *om.* Ἀκούσατε—ἀρθέντα μοι 21 ἀφόρησα ἀπ' αὐτῶν] ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφώρισα 22 ἑπτὰ καιρῆναι] τοῦ εἶναι 24, 25 φυλάσσοντές μου τ. οἶκον] οἱ φυλάσσοντες τὰ ποίμνια· καὶ ἄλλους κύνας εἶχον ὃ φυλάσσοντας τὸν οἶκον καμήλους] καὶ μύλους ἐννακισχιλ.—τρισχιλ.] θ 25 ἐργάζεσθαι]+κατὰ

πᾶσαν πόλιν, καὶ γωμώσας ἀγαθῶν ἀπέστειλα εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ εἰς τὰς κώμας, ἐντειλάμενος ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἐπιδιδόναι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις καὶ ταῖς χηραῖς πάσαις· εἶχον δὲ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα χιλιάδας ὄνων νομάδων· καὶ ἀφόρησα ἐξ αὐτῶν πεντακοσίας, καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν γονὴν ἐκέλευον πιπράσκεσθαι καὶ διδόναι τοῖς πένησιν καὶ ἐπιδεομένοις· καὶ ἤρχοντό μοι εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν χωρῶν ἅπαντες· ἀνεῳγμέναι δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τέσσαρες θύραι τοῦ οἴκου μου· ἐκέλευον δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις μου ταύτας εἶναι ἀνεῳγμένας, τοῦτον τὸν σκοπὸν ἔχων, μὴ ἄρα ἔλθωσίν τινες αἰτοῦντες ἐλεημοσύνην καὶ ἴδωσίν με παρακαθεζόμενον τῇ θύρᾳ, καὶ αἰδεσθέντες ἀποστραφῶσιν μηδὲν λαβόντες· ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ἴδωσίν με πρὸς μίαν θύραν καθημένον, δυνηθῶσιν διὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν ὅσον χρῄζουσιν. Iob xxxi. 32

X. Ἦσαν δέ μοι καὶ τράπεζαι ἱδρυμέναι τριάκοντα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου ἀκίνητοι πάσας ὥρας τοῖς ξένοις μόνοις· εἶχον δὲ καὶ τῶν χηρῶν ἄλλας δώδεκα τραπέζας κειμένας· καὶ εἴ τις ξένος προήρχετο αἰτῆσαι ἐλεημοσύνην, ἀνάγκην εἶχεν τρέφεσθαι ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν τὴν χρείαν· καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεπον ἐξελθεῖν τὴν θύραν μου κόλπῳ κενῷ· εἶχον δὲ τρὶς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια ζεύγη βοῶν· καὶ ἐξελεξάμην ἐξ αὐτῶν ζεύγη πεντακόσια, καὶ ἔστησα εἰς τὸν ἀροτριασμὸν ὃν δύνανται ποιεῖν ἐν παντὶ ἀγρῷ τῶν Iob xxxi. 34

Readings of P. 8, 9 τεσσάρεις θύραις 13 ὅταν] *ut uidetur: fors.* ἐπὰν 21 κενῷ] καινῷ

Readings of M. 1—3 καὶ γωμώσας—πάσαις] καὶ γόμους κομίζεσθαι ἀγαθῶν· καὶ ἀπέστελλον κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν κ. εἰς τ. κώμας—τοῖς ἀδυν. κ. τ. ἀρρώστοις κ. τ. ὑστερουμ. 4 δὲ] +καὶ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα] ρ̄λ̄ 5 ἀφόρ. ἐξ αὐτ. πεντ.] ἐξ αὐτ. ἀφώρισα φ̄ 6, 7 καὶ διδόναι—ἐπιδεομ.] κ. τὴν τιμὴν εἶναι τοῖς πέν. κ. δεομένοις 7 κ. ἤρχοντό μοι] ἤρχοντο γὰρ ἀπάντησιν] ἀνάντησιν 8 ἅπαντες] οἱ πένητες 8, 9 τεσσάρεις θύραις] τέσσαρες θύραι δὲ] γὰρ *om.* μου 9, 10 ἐκέλευον—ἔχων] ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιούτου σκοποῦ 11 αἰτοῦντες ἐλεημ.] ἐλεημ. ζητοῦντες 12 τῇ θύρᾳ] εἰς μίαν τῶν θυρῶν 12—14 *om.* καὶ αἰδεσθέντες—καθημένον ἐπανελθεῖν] ἀπελθεῖν ὅσον] ὅσων 16, 17 *om.* ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου πάσας ὥρας] πᾶσαν ὥραν 18 *om.* ἄλλας 19 *om.* ξένος προήρχ. αἰτῆσαι] ἤρχετο αἰτῶν *om.* ἀνάγκην 20 τραπέζῃ πρὶν ἢ] τραπέζα μου τοῦ 21 οὐδὲ] οὐδένα 23 *om.* ζεύγη ἔστησα] ἔταξα 24 ὃν δύνανται] ὧδε πάντα

προσλαμβανόντων αὐτά, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν ἀφορίζειν τοῖς πένησιν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτῶν. εἶχον δὲ ἀρτοκόπια πεντήκοντα ἀφ' ὧν ἔταξα εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν δώδεκα τῆς τῶν πτωχῶν τραπέζης.

XI. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξένοι τινὲς ἰδόντες τὴν ἐμὴν προ-
Act. vi. 1, 2 θυμίαν· καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ διακονίᾳ· καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἦσάν ποτε ἀποροῦντες καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀναλῶσαι ἤρχοντο παρακαλοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες· Δεόμεθά σου, καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνάμεθα ταύτην τὴν διακονίαν ἐκτελέσαι; οὐδὲν δὲ κεκτήμεθα· ποίησον σὺ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔλεος, καὶ πρόχρησον ἡμῖν χρυσίον, ἵνα ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς τὰς μακρὰς πόλεις ἐμπορευόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς πένησιν δυνηθῶμεν ποιήσασθαι διακονίαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποκαταστήσωμέν σοι τὸ ἴδιον. καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἀκούων ἠγαλλιώμην ὅτι ὅλως παρ' ἐμοῦ λαμβάνουσιν εἰς οἰκονομίαν τῶν πτωχῶν· καὶ προθύμως δεξάμενος τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐδίδουν αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἤθελον, μὴ λαμβάνων παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνέχυρα εἰ μὴ μόνον ἔγγραφον· καὶ οὕτως ἐνεπορεύοντο ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς· ἐνίοτε δὲ ἐμπορευόμενοι ἐπετύγχανον καὶ ἐδίδουν τοῖς πτωχοῖς· ἐνίοτε δὲ πάλιν ἀπεσυλοῦντο καὶ ἤρχοντο καὶ παρεκάλουν
Mt. xviii. 26, 29 Iob xxxi. 35—37 με λέγοντες· Δεόμεθά σου, μακροθύμησον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· ἴδωμεν πῶς ἀποκαταστῆσαί σοι δυνάμεθα. κἀγὼ ἀνυπερθέτως προέφερον αὐτοῖς τὸ χειρόγραφον, καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκον, στέ-

Readings of P. 21 Δεώμεθά

Readings of M. 1 προσλαμβαν.—ἀφορίζειν] προσλαβόντων αὐτοῦ κ. τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἀφώριζον 2 δὲ]+καὶ 3, 4 ἔταξα—τραπέζης] ἔταξα εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν τῶν πτωχῶν· εἶχον δὲ δούλους ἐξαιρέτους εἰς τὴν ὑπηρ. ταύτην 6 κ. ἐπεθύμ.—ὑπηρετεῖν] κ. αὐτοὶ ἐπεθύμ. ὑπηρετῆσαι 7 om. ποτε 9 σου]+ἐπειδὴ τὴν διακ. ἐκτελ.] ἐκτελ. τ. διακ. 10 οὐδὲν δὲ] κ. οὐδὲν om. σὺ 11 πρόχρησον] προχείρισον 12 ἐμπορευόμ.—δυνηθῶμεν] κ. ἐμπορευσώμεθα κ. τὸ περιττὸν τῆς ἐμπορίας δυνηθῶμεν 14 ἴδιον] +σου 16, 17 δεξάμενος—ἤθελον] ἐδίδουν αὐτοῖς ὅσ. ἤθ., δεχόμενος τὸ γράμμα αὐτῶν ἐνέχυρα] ἐνέχυρον μόνον]+τὸ 18, 19 καὶ οὕτως—ἐμοῖς] κ. πορευόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ἐνίοτε—πτωχοῖς] καὶ ἐπετύγχανον ἐδίδουν τοῖς πτωχοῖς 20 ἐνίοτε—ἤρχοντο] πολλάκις τινες ἀπόλωλαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν ὁδῷ ἢ ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἢ ἐσυλοῦντο ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐρχόμενοι 21 ἴδωμεν] ἵνα ἴδωμεν 22 ἀποκαταστ. σοι δυνάμ.] ἀποκαταστήσωμέν σοι τὰ σά 22—p. 9, 1 κἀγὼ—λέγων] ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούων καὶ συμπαθῶν αὐτοῖς προέφερον αὐτῶν τὸ χειρόγ. κ. ἀνεγίν. ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν καὶ διαρρήξας ἐλευθέρουν αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρέως λέγων οὕτως

φανον ἐπιφερόμενος ἀφαιρήσεως λέγων· Ὅσον προφάσει τῶν πενήτων ἐπίστευσα ὑμῖν, οὐδὲν λήψομαι παρ' ὑμῶν. οὐδὲ ἐδεχόμην τι παρὰ τοῦ ὀφειλέτου μου.

XII. Καὶ εἴ ποτέ μοι ἤρχετο ἀνὴρ ἱλαρὸς τὴν καρδίαν, λέγων· Οὔτε ἐγὼ εὐπορῶ ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν· βούλομαι μέντοι κἂν διακονῆσαι τοῖς πτωχοῖς σήμερον ἐν τῇ σῇ τραπέζῃ. καὶ συγχωρηθεὶς ὑπηρέτει καὶ ἔτρωγεν· καὶ ἑσπέρας γινομένης ἐξερχόμενος ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν ἠναγκάζετο παρ' ἐμοῦ λέγοντος· Ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι ἐργάτης εἶ ἄνθρωπος προσδοκῶν καὶ ἀναμένων σου τὸν μισθόν· ἀνάγκην ἔχεις λαβεῖν. καὶ οὐκ ἔων μισθὸν μισθωτοῦ ἀπομεῖναι παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου. cf. Lev. xix. 13 Tobit iv. 14 Iac. v. 4

XIII. Διεφώνουν δὲ οἱ ἀμέλγοντες τὰς βοῦς ῥέοντες ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν· καὶ τὸ βούτυρον διεχεῖτο ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐν ταῖς πέτραις καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐκοιτάζοντο διὰ τὰ λοχευόμενα· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὄρη ἐκλύζοντο γάλακτι καὶ ὡς πεπηγμένον βούτυρον γίγνεσθαι. ἀπέκαμνον δὲ οἱ δοῦλοί μου οἱ τὰ τῶν χηρῶν ἐδέσματα ἑψοῦντες καὶ τῶν πενήτων ὀλιγοροῦντες κατηρῶντό μοι λέγοντες· Τίς ἂν δῴη ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐμπλησθῆναι; λίαν μου χρηστοῦ ὄντος. Iob vii. 2 Iob xxix. 6 Iob xxxi. 31

XIV. Εἶχον δὲ ἓξ ψαλμοὺς καὶ δεκάχορδον κιθάραν· Ps. xxxii. 2 etc.

Readings of P. 5 ἐπικουρισαι 7 ὑπηρετειν 9 ἐπίσταμε 17 πεπειγμένον 19 ὀλιγωρούντων

Readings of M. 3 οὐδὲ—τι] κ. οὐδὲν ἐδεχόμην ὀφειλέτου] ὀφειλήτου 4 *om.* μοι τὴν καρδ.] τῇ καρδίᾳ 5 Οὔτε ἐγὼ εὐπορῶ] οὐδὲν ἀπορῶ 6, 7 μέντοι κἂν] μὲν σήμερον—τραπέζῃ] ἐν τῇ τραπέρᾳ (*sic*) σου ὑπηρέτει] ὑπηρετειν ἔτρωγεν] ἔφαγεν 7—9 καὶ ἑσπέρας—λέγοντος] καὶ τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ ἐδίδου (*l.* ἐδίδουν) αὐτῷ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ χαίρων· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν, ἠναγκάζετο παρ' ἐμοῦ λέγοντος πρὸς αὐτόν 11, 12 μισθὸν (*pri.*)]+καὶ καὶ οὐκ ἔων—οἰκίᾳ μου] καὶ οὐκ ὑστέρησα ποτὲ μισθὸν μισθωτοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ ἀφῆκα τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ ἑσόμενον παρ' ἐμοὶ μίαν ἑσπέραν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου 13—17 βοῦς—γίγνεσθαι] βόας ἢ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τοὺς παροδίτας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὅπως μεταλάβωσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ· καὶ διεχεῖτο γάλα τὸ βούτυρον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πέτραις καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐκοιτάζοντο διαλοχευόμενα *om. cet.* 18 ἀπέκαμνον] ἀπέκαμον χηρῶν]+καὶ τὰ τῶν πενήτων 19 ἑψοῦντες] ἐνέχοντες καὶ τῶν πεν. ὀλιγ. κατηρ.] κ. ὀλιγοροῦντες καταρονται (*sic*) 20 δῴη] δοίη αὐτοῦ]+ἐμφορηθῆναι καὶ 21 λίαν—ὄντος] λίαν χρ. ὄντος μου πρὸς αὐτούς 22 δὲ]+καὶ

καὶ διεγειρόμην τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν μετὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι τὰς
Iob xxi. 12 χήρας, καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὴν κιθάραν καὶ ἔψαλλον αὐταῖς
καὶ αὐταὶ ὕμνουν· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ψαλτηρίου ἀνεμίμνησκον
αὐτὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα δοξάσωσιν τὸν κύριον. καὶ εἴ ποτε
διεγόγγυζον αἱ θεράπαιναί μου, ἀνελάμβανον τὸ ψαλ- 5
Heb. xi. 26 τήριον, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως ἔψαλλον, καὶ
Num. xvii. 10 κατέπαυον αὐτὰς τῆς ὀλιγωρίας τοῦ [ψαλμοῦ τουτέστιν]
γογγυσμοῦ.

Iob i. 4 XV. Καὶ τα ἐμὰ τέκνα μετὰ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς
διακονίας ἦρον καθ' ἡμέραν τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν καὶ εἰσήρ- 10
χοντο παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ δειπνῆσαι μετ'
αὐτοῦ συμπαραλαμβάνοντες καὶ τὰς τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἀδελφὰς
μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐπικείμενα ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν. ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ καὶ οἱ υἱοί μου ἀνέκειντο τοῖς ἀρρενικοῖς δούλοις καὶ
τοῖς διακονοῦσιν, ἀνιστάμενος οὖν ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸ πρωΐ 15
Iob i. 5 ἀνέφερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θυσίας κατὰ ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν, περι-
στερὰς τριακοσίας, ἔριφους αἰγῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ πρόβατα
δεκάδυο· ταῦτα πάντα μετὰ τὴν σύνταξιν ἐκέλευον κατα-
σκευασθῆναι τοῖς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς· Ταῦτα
λαμβάνετε περισσὰ μετὰ τὴν σύνταξιν ἵνα δεηθῆτε ὑπὲρ 20
τῶν τέκνων μου, μὴ ἄρα οἱ υἱοί μου ἥμαρτον ἐνώπιον
κυρίου καυχόμενοι, λέγοντες μετὰ καταφρονήσεως ὅτι
Ἡμεῖς τέκνα ἐσμὲν τοῦ πλουσίου τούτου ἀνδρός, ἡμῶν δέ
ἐστιν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα· διὰ τί δὲ καὶ διακονοῦμεν;
cf. Sir. x. 7 Prov. iii. 34 διότι βδέλυγμά ἐστιν ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ὑπερηφανία. 25

Readings of P. 2 αὐτοῖς 5 θεράπεναι 7 ὀλιγορίας 12 συμπαραλαμβανόντων

Readings of M. 1, 2 διεγειρόμην] διεκρουόμην om. μετὰ—χῆρας om. κ. ἔψαλλον αὐταῖς 3 καὶ αὐταὶ ὕμνουν] κ. ἀντύμνουν αἱ χῆραι μετὰ τὸ ἐσθίειν αὐτάς ψαλτηρίου] ψαλτῆρος 5 διεγόγγυζον] ἐγόγγιζον θεράπαιναι] θεράπαινές ἀνελάμβανον] ἐλάμβανον 6 ἀνταποδόσεως] ἀνταποδοσίας ἔψαλλον] + αὐταῖς 7 om. ψαλμοῦ τουτέστιν 9 Καὶ τὰ] τὰ δὲ 10 ἦρον] ἐλάμβανον αὐτῶν] + καὶ τὰς τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἀδελφὰς 10, 11 καὶ εἰσήρχοντο] ἐπορεύοντο ἀδελφῷ] + αὐτῶν 11—15 δειπνῆσαι—διακονοῦσιν] καὶ ἐποίουν πότον om. κατὰ 16, 17 om. κατὰ—τριακοσίας 18, 19 δεκάδυο] ιβ̄ ταῦτα—κατασκευασθῆναι] ταῦτα ἐκ περιττοῦ εἰς ἀνάλωμα 20 περισσὰ—ἵνα] περιττὰ καὶ 22 om. καυχόμενοι 23 τέκνα post ἐσμὲν τούτου] τοῦδε ἡμῶν δέ ἐστιν] ἡμῖν δῶτε 24 διακονοῦμεν] + ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐξ ὑπερηφανίας παρώργιζον τὸν θεόν. 25 διότι βδέλ. ἐστιν] καί ἐστιν βδέλ.

καὶ πάλιν ἐξαίρετον μόσχον ἀνέφερον ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, μήπως οἱ υἱοί μου ἐνενοήσαντο κακὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

XVI. Ἐμοῦ δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν μετὰ τὸ τὸν ἄγγελον ὑποδεῖξαί μοι, εἶτα μετὰ τὸ εἰληφέναι Iob i. τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὸν Σατανᾶν, τότε λοιπὸν ἀνηλέως κατῆλθεν, καὶ ἐφλόγισεν τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας τῶν προβάτων τὰ ταγέντα εἰς ἔνδυσιν τῶν χηρῶν, καὶ τὰς τρισχιλίας καμήλους καὶ τὰς πεντακοσίας ὄνους καὶ τὰ πεντακόσια ζεύγη τῶν βοῶν. ταῦτα πάντα ἀνήλισκεν δι' ἑαυτοῦ καθ' ἣν εἴληφεν ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κτηνῶν μου ᾐχμαλώτισται ὑπὸ τῶν συμπολιτῶν μου τῶν καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐεργετηθέντων, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπανισταμένων μου καὶ ἀφαιρουμένων τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν θρεμμάτων μου. καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι ἀνήγγειλάν μοι τὴν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐβλασφήμησα.

XVII. Τότε ὁ διάβολος ἐγνωκως μου την καρδίαν 2 Cor. xi. κατεμηχανήσατό με· καὶ μετασχηματισθεὶς εἰς βασιλέα 14 τῶν Περσῶν ἐπέστη τῇ ἐμῇ πόλει, συναγαγὼν πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ πανούργους, καὶ ἐλάλησεν μετὰ ἀπειλῆς αὐτοῖς λέγων· Οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ Ἰωβὰβ ὁ ἀναλώσας πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ μηδὲν καταλιπών, ὁ διαδεδωκὼς τοῖς Lc. xviii. ἐπιδεομένοις καὶ τυφλοῖς καὶ χωλοῖς, καὶ τὸν μὲν ναὸν 22 τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καθελὼν καὶ ἀφανίσας τὸν τόπον τῆς σπονδῆς· διὸ κἀγὼ ἀνταποδώσω αὐτῷ καθὰ ἔπραξεν κατὰ

Readings of P. 5 μετὰ τοῦ

Readings of M. 1—3 καὶ πάλιν—θεόν] ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ μόσχους τῷ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον λέγων· Μήποτε οἱ υἱοί μου κακὰ ἐννοήσαν πρ. τ. θεὸν ἐν τ. καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν 4 Ἐμοῦ δὲ—χιλιάδας] τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ βιοῦντος μου ὁ διάβολος οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὸ ἀγαθόν· ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν ἐξητήσατο κατ' ἐμοῦ τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τῷ θεῷ· κατῆλθεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀνηλέως· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐφλόγησε τὸ πλῆθος 7, 8 om. τὰ ταγέντα—χηρῶν καὶ τὰς τρισχ. καμ.] ἔπειτα τὰς καμ. 9—15 καὶ τὰς πεντακ.—ἐδόξασα] εἶτα τοὺς βόας καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη, τὰ μὲν ἐφλόγησε τὰ δὲ ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν, οὐ μόνον παρ' ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐεργετηθέντων· καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ ποιμένες ἀνήγγειλάν μοι ταῦτα· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐδόξασα 17 τὴν καρδίαν] καρτερίαν 18 με] κατ' ἐμοῦ om. καὶ 19 τῇ ἐμῇ πόλει] ἐπ' ἐμῇ πόλει καὶ 20, 21 πανούργους—λέγων] πανούργως ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπειλῆς λέγων Ἰωβὰβ] ὁ Ἰὼβ 22 καταλιπών] καταλείπων 22—25 ὁ διαδεδωκὼς—σπονδῆς] ὁ ἀφανίσας καὶ καταλύσας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνταποδώσω] ἀποδώσω καθὰ] + καὶ

τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ· συνέλθατε οὖν καὶ σκυλεύσατε ἑαυτοῖς πάντα τὰ ζῷα καὶ ὅσα ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπον αὐτῷ· Ἔχει ἑπτὰ υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας τρεῖς· μὴ ἄρα καταφύγωσιν εἰς ἑτέρας χώρας καὶ ἐντύχωσιν καθ' ἡμῶν ὡς τυραννούντων καὶ λοιπὸν ἐπαναστάντες ἀποκτείνωσιν ἡμᾶς. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Μὴ φοβεῖσθε ὅλως· τὰ πλείονα τῶν κτημάτων αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἀπώλεσα ἐν πυρί· τὰ ἄλλα ἠχμαλώτευσα· καὶ ἤδη καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ <ἀπολέσω>.

XVIII. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων αὐτοῖς ἀπῆλθεν καὶ κατέβαλεν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα μου καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτά· καὶ οἱ συμπολῖται ἰδόντες ὅτι ἀληθῶς γέγονεν τὰ εἰρημένα, ἐπελθόντες ἐδίωξάν με καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου ἥρπαζον. οἱ ἐμοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἔβλεπον ἐπάνω τῶν τραπεζῶν μου καὶ τῶν κραββάτων μου ἄνδρας εὐτελεῖς καὶ ἀτίμους· καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάμην φθέγξασθαι· ἠτονημένος γὰρ
Heb. xii. 12 ἤμην ὡς γυνὴ παρειμένη τὰς ὀσφύας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὠδίνων, μνησθεὶς μάλιστα τοῦ προσημανθέντος μοι πολέμου ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐγκωμίων τῶν λαληθέντων μοι· καὶ ἐγενόμην ὡς θέλων εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς πόλιν τινα ἰδεῖν τὸν αὐτῆς πλοῦτον καὶ
cf. Act. xxviii. 38 κληρονομεῖν μέρος τῆς δόξης αὐτῆς καὶ ὡς <ἔχων> φορτίον ἐμβαλλόμενον ἐν θαλασσίῳ πλοίῳ καὶ μεσοπελαγίσας ἰδὼν τὴν τρικυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν τῶν ἀνέμων ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν τὸ φορτίον λέγων· Θέλω ἀπολέσαι τὰ πάντα, μόνον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἵνα κληρονομήσω τὰ κρείττονα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ τοῦ πλοίου. οὕτω

Readings of P. 21 ἑαυτῆς 24 εἶδον 25 ἀπωλέσθαι

Readings of M. 1, 2 θεοῦ] μεγάλου θεοῦ συνέλθατε—γῆς] νῦν οὖν ἀπέλθετε σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ σκυλεύσωμεν πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ om. αὐτοὶ 5, 6 λοιπὸν] λοιποὶ ἐπαναστάντες—ἡμᾶς] ἐπανέλθωσιν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μετὰ δυνάμεως κ. ἀποκτ. ἡμᾶς 7 τὰ πλείονα—πυρί] τὰ κτήνη αὐτοῦ κ. τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀπώλεσα ἐν πυρί 8 ἤδη] ἰδοὺ αὐτοῦ] + ἀπολέσω 10 Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων] καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθεν καί] ἀπελθών 12 om. οἱ ἀληθῶς] ἀληθῆ εἰρημένα] + ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 14 ἥρπαζον] διήρπαζον οἱ ἐμοὶ ὀφθ. ἔβλεπον] καὶ εἶδον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τοῦ οἴκου μου καὶ 15 εὐτελεῖς] ἀτελεῖς 16 φθέγξασθαι] + τι κατ' αὐτῶν 19, 20 om. καὶ τῶν ἐγκ.—μοι 20—22 om. ὡς θέλων—αὐτῆς καὶ ὡς] + εἰ
cf. Act. xxvii. 21 24 εἶδον] ἰδὼν 25 ἀπωλέσθαι] ἀπολέσαι 26, 27 ταύτην—πλοίου] ἵνα κερδαίνω τὸ πλοῖον σεσωσμένον καὶ τὰ κρείττονα τῶν σκευῶν

καγὼ ἡγησάμην τὰ ἐμὰ ἀντ' οὐδένος πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἧς λελάληκέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος. cf. Act. xx. 24 Phil. iii. 8

XIX. Ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐσχάτου ἀγγέλου καὶ δηλώσαντος ἐμοὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων ἀπώλειαν, ἐταράχθην ἐν μεγάλῃ ταραχῇ καὶ διέρρηξά μου τὰ ἱμάτια λέγων τῷ ἀπαγγέλλοντι· Πῶς οὖν σὺ ἐσώθης; καὶ τότε ἐγὼ συνιδὼν τὸ γενόμενον ἀνεβόησα λέγων· Ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν, ὁ κύριος ἀφείλατο· ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ ἔδοξεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐγένετο· εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον. Heb. xi. 26 Iob i. 21

XX. Τῶν οὖν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων ἀπολομένων ἔμαθεν ὁ Σατανᾶς ὅτι οὐδὲν δύναταί με εἰς ὀλιγωρίαν τρέψαι· καὶ ἀπελθὼν ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμά μου παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἵνα ἐπενέγκῃ μοι πληγήν· καὶ τότε παρέδωκέν με ὁ κύριος εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ χρήσασθαι τῷ σώματι ὡς ἠβούλετο, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς μου οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν· καὶ προσῆλθέν μοι καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ πενθοῦντι τὴν τῶν τέκνων μου ἀπώλειαν· καὶ ὁμοιώθη μεγάλῃ καταιγίδι καὶ τὸν θρόνον μου κατέστρεψεν, καὶ ἐποίησα τρεῖς ὥρας ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον μου μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἐξελθεῖν· καὶ ἐπάταξέν με πληγὴν σκληρὰν ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς· καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ταραχῇ καὶ ἀδημονίᾳ ἐξῆλθον τὴν πόλιν. καὶ καθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας σκωληκόβρωτον τὸ σῶμά μου εἶχον καὶ συνέβρεχον τὴν γῆν ἐκ τῆς ὑγρασίας· καὶ ἰχῶρες τοῦ σώματος <ἔρρεον καὶ> σκώληκες πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ σώματί μου· καὶ εἴποτε ἀφίστατο σκώληξ, ἦρον καὶ κατήγγιζον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον λέγων· Παράμεινον ἐν τῷ Ps. lxxxviii. 40, 45 Iob i. 12, ii. 6 Iob ii. 7 Act. xii. 23 Iob ii. 8, vii. 5

Readings of P. 10 ἀπωλομένον 16 καθημένου 18 ἐποίησεν 22, 24 σκωλικόβρωτον, σκώλικες 25 ἐφήστατο

Readings of M. 1, 2 om. ἀντ' οὐδένος—ἄγγελος 3, 4 Ἐλθόντος—ἐμοὶ] τότε ἦλθεν ἕτερος ἄγγελος κ. ἀνεδίδαξέν με ἀπώλ.]+καὶ 5 διέρρηξα—λέγων] διέρρ. τὰ ἱμ. μου καὶ εἶπον 10, 11 Τῶν οὖν—Σατανᾶς] Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Σατ. 12 om. καὶ 13 πληγήν]+διότι οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ὁ πονηρὸς τὴν ὑπομονήν μου 14 εἰς]+τὰς σώματι]+μου ἠβούλετο] βούλεται 16 προσῆλθέν μοι καθημένου] προσῆλθεν καθημένῳ μοι τὸν θρόνον] θρόνου 17 τὴν—ἀπώλειαν] τὰ τέκνα μου 18 κατέστρεψεν]+προσκρούσας με ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν 18, 19 ἐποίησεν—ἐξελθεῖν] ἐποίησα ὥρας τρεῖς κείμενος ἐπὶ ἐδάφους 20 ποδ. ἕως κεφ.] κορυφῆς ἕως ὀνύχων τῶν ποδ. μου 21 ἀδημονίᾳ] ἀδαιμ. 22, 23 σκωληκόβρ.—εἶχον] σκωλ. εἶχον τὸ σῶμα τῆς] πολλῆς 24 σώματος]+ἔρρεον καὶ 25 ἐν τῷ σώμ. μου] ἐν αὐτῷ ἐφήστατο σκώληξ] ἀφίστατο σκ. ἐκ τοῦ σώματός μου ἦρον] αἶρον αὐτὸν 26 κατήγγιζον] κατῴκιζον εἰς—τόπον] εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

αὐτῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐτέθης ἄχρις οὗ ἐνταλθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ κελεύσαντός σε.

XXI. Καὶ ἐποίησα ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ ἐν τῇ κοπρίᾳ ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς, ὥστε ἰδεῖν, τέκνα μου, τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν πρώτην μου γυναῖκα καὶ ὑδροφοροῦσαν εἰς οἶκον τινὸς εὐσχήμονος ὡς παιδίσκην ἕως ἂν λάβῃ ἄρτον καὶ προσενέγκῃ μοι· καὶ ἐγὼ κατανενυγμένος ἔλεγον· Ὢ τῆς ἀλαζονείας τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς πόλεως ταύτης· πῶς χρῶνται τῇ γαμετῇ μου ὡς δουλίδι; καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνελάμβανον λογισμὸν μακρόθυμον.

cf. Tobit ii. 11 sqq.

Dan. x. 9
Act. ii. 37

XXII. Καὶ μετὰ ἕνδεκα ἔτη καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄρτον ἀφείλαντο μὴ προσενεχθῆναί μοι, μόλις ἐπιτρέψαντες ἔχειν αὐτὴν τὴν ἰδίαν τροφήν· καὶ αὐτὴ λαμβάνουσα διεμέριζεν ἑαυτῇ τε καὶ ἐμοί, λέγουσα μετ' ὀδύνης· Οὐαί μοι, τάχα οὔτε ἄρτου χορτάζεται. καὶ οὐκ ἐφείδετο ἐξελθεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσαιτῆσαι ἄρτον παρὰ τῶν ἀρτοπρατῶν ἕως ἂν προσενέγκῃ μοι καὶ φάγομαι.

XXIII. Καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς τοῦτο γνοὺς μετεσχηματίσθη εἰς πράτην· καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ συντυχίαν ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἄρτον, νομίζουσα εἶναι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον. καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ· Παρασχοῦ τὸ νόμισμα καὶ λάβε ὃ θέλεις. ἀποκριθεῖσα δὲ αὐτῷ λέγει· Πόθεν μοι ἀργύριον; ἀγνοεῖς τὰ συμβεβηκότα ἡμῖν πονηρά; εἰ μὲν ἐλεεῖς, ἐλέησον· εἰ δὲ μή, σὺ ὄψει. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῇ λέγων Εἰ μὴ ἄξιοι ἦτε τῶν κακῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἀπελάβετε αὐτά· νῦν οὖν εἰ μὴ ἔχεις ἐν χερσίν σου ἀργύριον, ὑποθοῦ μοι τὴν τρίχαν τῆς κεφαλῆς σου, καὶ

2 Cor. xi. 14

Num. xi. 13
Mt. xv. 33
Mt. xxvii. 4

Readings of P. 7, 8 κατανενιγμένος 9 δουλίδη 26 ἀπελάβεται

Readings of M. 1 ἐτέθης] ἐτάχθης ἐνταλθῇ] ἐπεστάλθη σοι 2 σε] σοι 3 Καὶ—ὀκτὼ] κ. οὕτως διήρκεσα ἔτη ξ̄ καθεζόμενος 4 ἐκτὸς] ἔξω ὥστε ἰδεῖν] καὶ ἴδον 5 τέκνα—ὀφθ.] τοῖς ὀφθ. μου, τέκνα μου ποθητὰ πρώτην] ταπεινὴν γυναῖκα καὶ]+τὴν πρώην ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ τρυφῇ καὶ δορυφορίᾳ θαλαμευομένην, ἴδον αὐτὴν 6 εὐσχήμ.] ἀσχήμονος 7 ἂν] οὖ 9 ταύτης]+οὓς οὐδὲ ἀξίους εἶναι κυνῶν τῶν ἐμῶν νομάδων ἠγοῦμαι, ὅτι 10 ἀνελάμβανον] ἀνέλαβον 11 ἕνδεκα ἔτη] ἱκανὸν χρόνον 12 ἀφείλαντο]+τοῦ 15 οὔτε ἄρτου χορτάζεται] οὐ χορτ. τοῦ ἄρτου 17 ἂν] οὖ φάγομαι] φάγω 19 πράτην] ἀρτόπρατον συντυχίαν] συγκυρίαν 20 αἰτῆσαι]+πάλιν νομίζουσα] νομίζουσαν 21 ἔλεγεν] λέγει Παρασχοῦ] Πάρασχέ μοι 23 ἀγνοεῖς] ἢ ἀγν. ἡμῖν] μοι ὧδε 24 ἐλεεῖς] ἐλέησον 25 αὐτῇ] πάλιν 26 om. ἔχεις

Iob xxxi. 1

λάβε τρεῖς ἄρτους· ἴσως δυνήσεσθε ζῆσαι ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις. τότε λέγει ἐν ἑαυτῇ· Τί γάρ μοι ἡ θρίξ τῆς κεφαλῆς πρὸς τὸν πεινοῦντα ἄνδρα μου; καὶ οὕτως καταφρονήσασα τῆς τρίχος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἄναστα, ἆρον αὐτήν. τότε λαβὼν ψαλίδα ἔκειρεν τὴν τρίχαν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ τρεῖς ἄρτους πάντων βλεπόντων· ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα ἦλθεν καὶ προσφέρει μοι· καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἠκολούθει αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιπατῶν κεκρυμμένως, καὶ ἐπλαγίαζεν αὐτῆς τὴν καρδίαν.

XXIV. Ἅμα τε ἤγγισεν ἡ γυνή μου, ἀνακράξασα μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ λέγει μοι· Ἰώβ, Ἰώβ, ἄχρι τίνος καθέζῃ ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως λογιζόμενος ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας σου; καὶ ἐγὼ πλανῆτις καὶ λάτρις τόπον ἐκ τόπου περιερχομένη· διὸ ἀπώλετο ἀπὸ γῆς τὸ μνημόσυνόν σου· οἱ υἱοί μου καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες τῆς ἐμῆς κοιλίας οὓς εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα μετὰ μόχθων· σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς κάθῃ ἐν σαπρίᾳ σκωλήκων διανυκτερεύων αἴθριος· κἀγὼ πάλιν ἡ παναθλία ἐργαζομένη ἡμέρας ὀδυνωμένη καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ἕως ἂν εὐπορήσασα ἄρτον προσενέγκω σοι· οὐκέτι γὰρ δὴ μόλις τὴν ἐμὴν τροφὴν λαμβάνω καὶ διαμερίζω σοί τε καὶ ἐμοί, ἐννοουμένη ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκετὸν εἶναί σε ἐν πόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ ἐμπλήσκεσθαί σε τοῦ ἄρτου· ὥστε τολμῆσαί με ἀναισχύντως ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν† εἰ κατανύγομαι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ὅτι οὐκ ἀρκετὸν† πράτην· Δὸς τὸ ἀργύριον

Iob ii. 9

Readings of P. 14 πλανίτης κ. λάτρης 17 σκωλίκων 24 ἀγωρὰν 25 πράττειν

Readings of M. 1 δυνήσεσθε] δυνηθήσεσθε τρισὶν] ταῖς τρ. 2 λέγει] εἶπεν μοι]+ἐστὶν κεφαλῆς]+μου 3 ἄνδρα *post* μου τῆς τρίχος] ἑαυτὴν 4 ἆρον αὐτήν] κεῖρον με 5 ἔκειρεν] ἦρεν αὐτῆς]+πάντων ὁρώντων 6 *om.* πάντ. βλεπ. 7 προσφέρει] προσέφερε ἠκολ. αὐτῇ] ἦλθεν ὄπισθεν αὐτῆς 8 κεκρυμμένως κ. ἐπλαγ.] κεκρυμμένος κ. πλαγιάζων 10 Ἅμα τε] καὶ ἅμα ἤγγισεν]+πρός με 11 ἄχρι] μέχρι 12 ἔξωθεν] ἔξω ἔτι] ἐπὶ 14 πλανιτὴς] πλανῆτις διὸ] ἠδε γὰρ 15 ἀπώλετο] ἀπόλωλεν γῆς] τῆς γῆς 16 *om.* τῆς κοιλίας]+καὶ πόνοι κ. ὠδύναι 17 μόχθων] μόχθου *om.* αὐτὸς 18, 19 ἐργαζ. —νυκτὶ] ἐργ. κ. ὠδυνωμένη ἡμέρας κ. νυκτὸς 20 οὐκέτι—μόλις] οὐκέτι γάρ μοι δίδοται ὁ περιττὸς ἄρτος ἐκεῖνος· ἐπειδὴ μόγις καὶ 22, 23 ἀλλὰ—τοῦ ἄρτου] καὶ ἐν λιμῷ ἄρτου ὥστε—με] ἐτόλμησα 24 ἐξελθεῖν] ἐλθεῖν ἀγορὰν] ἀγοράν 24, 25 εἰ κατανύγομαι—πράττειν] καὶ τοῦ πράτου εἰπόντος μοι 25 *om.* τὸ

καὶ λήψει. καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ δεῖξαι τὴν ἀπορίαν ἡμῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι παρ' αὐτοῦ· Εἰ μὴ ἔχεις, ὦ γύναι, ἀργύριον, παρασχοῦ τὴν τρίχαν τῆς κεφαλῆς σου καὶ λάμβανε τρεῖς ἄρτους· ἴσως ζήσεσθε ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις. κἀγὼ ἐκκακήσασα εἶπον αὐτῷ·†...οὕτως ἀναστὰς μετὰ ψαλίδος ἀτίμως ἔκειρέν μου τὴν τρίχα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, παρεστῶτος ὄχλου καὶ θαυμάζοντος.

XXV. Τίς οὐκ ἐξεπλάγη ὅτι αὕτη ἐστιν Σίτιδος ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰώβ, ἥτις εἶχεν σκεπάζοντα αὐτῆς τὸ καθεστήριον ξῆλα δεκατέσσαρα, καὶ θύραν ἔνδοθεν θυρῶν ἕως ἂν ὅλως :αταξιωθῇ τις εἰσαχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτήν· νυνὶ δὲ καταλ-ιάσσει τὴν τρίχα αὐτῆς ἀντὶ ἄρτων;

Ἧς αἱ κάμηλοι γεγομωμέναι ἀγαθῶν ἀπέφερον εἰς τὰς χώρας τοῖς πτωχοῖς, ὅτι νῦν ἀντιδίδωσιν τὴν τρίχα αὐτῆς ἀντὶ ἄρτων.

Ἴδε ἡ ἔχουσα ἑπτὰ τραπέζας ἀκινήτους ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, εἰς ἃς ἤσθιον οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ πᾶς ξένος, ὅτι νῦν καταπι-πράσκει τὴν τρίχαν ἀντὶ ἄρτων.

Βλέπε τίς εἶχε τὸν νιπτῆρα τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου, νυνὶ δὲ ποσὶ βαδίζει ἐπὶ ἐδάφους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τρίχα ἀντικαταλλάσσει ἀντὶ ἄρτων.

Ἴδε ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἥτις εἶχεν τὴν ἔνδυσιν ἐκ βύσσου ὑφασμένην σὺν χρυσῷ, νῦν δὲ φορεῖ ῥακκώδη, καὶ ἀντι-καταλλάσσει τὴν τρίχαν ἀντὶ ἄρτων.

Βλέπε τὴν τοὺς κραββάτους χρυσέους καὶ ἀργυρέους ἔχουσαν, νυνὶ δὲ πιπράσκουσαν τὴν τρίχα ἀντὶ ἄρτων.

Readings of P. 4 ζήσεσθαι 8 Σιγίδος 9 εἴτις 13 γεγομωμένοι
Readings of M. 1 λήψει] λήψεις ἄρτους om. καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ δεῖξαι] ἔδειξα αὐτῷ om. αὐτῷ 2 ἀκοῦσαι] ἤκουσα om. ὦ γύναι 3 τρίχαν] τρίχα *ubique* 4 ἐκκακήσασα] ἐγκακ. 5 εἶπον αὐτῷ]+Ἀνα-στὰς κεῖρον με. καὶ 6 τρίχα]+τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄχλου] τοῦ ὄχλ. 8 Τίς]+οὖν ἐξεπλάγη]+λέγων Σιγίδος] Σίτις *ubique* 9 καθε-στήριον] καθηστ. 10 θύραν] θύρας 11 νυνὶ δὲ] καὶ νῦν ἴδε 12 ἄρτων] ἄρτου *semper* 13 Ἧς—ἀπέφερον] οἱ ἦσαν κάμηλοι γεμισμένοι ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀπεφέροντο 14 om. ὅτι ἀντιδίδ.—αὐτῆς] δίδωσιν αὐτὴν τρίχα 16 ἡ ἔχουσα] τὴν ἔχουσαν 17 εἰς ἃς—πτωχοὶ] ὧν ἤσθιεν πᾶς πτωχὸς om. ὅτι 18 τρίχαν]+αὐτῆς 19 Βλέπε τίς] βλέπετε ἥτις χρυσοῦ κ. ἀργ.] χρυσοῦν κ. ἀργυροῦν 20, 21 om. ἀλλὰ—ἄρτων 22, 23 Ἴδε] εἴδετε τὴν ἔνδ.—χρυσῷ] τὸ ἔνδυμα ἐκ βύσσου ἐξυφασμένου χρυσῷ om. νῦν—ῥακκώδη καί]+ἄρτι 24 τρίχαν]+αὐτῆς 25 Βλέπε] βλέπετε

Ἀπαξαπλῶς, Ἰώβ, Ἰώβ, πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν εἰρημένων, συντόμως λέγω σοι· ἐπὶ ἀσθενείᾳ τῆς καρδίας μου συνετρίβη μου τὰ ὀστᾶ· ἀνάστηθι σύ, καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς ἄρτους Iob ii. 9
χορτάσθητι· καὶ εἰπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς κύριον καὶ τελεύτα, Mc. viii. 4
καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπαλλαγήσομαι ἀκηδίας διὰ πόνου σου τοῦ σώματος.

XXVI. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρίθην αὐτῇ· Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δέκα ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἔχω ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς, ὑφιστάμενος τοὺς σκώληκας τοὺς ἐν τῷ σώματί μου, καὶ οὐκ ἐβαρήθη ἡ ψυχή μου διὰ τοὺς Zech. xi. 8
πόνους ὅσον διὰ τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ εἶπας ὅτι Εἰπόν τι ῥῆμα πρὸς Sap. ix. 15
κύριον καὶ τελεύτα. ὅλως καὶ ταῦτα ὑποφέρω καὶ ὑποφέρεις, καὶ τὴν τῶν τέκνων ἡμῶν ἀπώλειαν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων †βουλόμενος† ἡμᾶς †ἀλίσαι τῆς† πρὸς κύριον, ἵνα ἀπαλλοτριωθῶμεν τοῦ μεγάλου πλούτου; διὰ τί δὲ οὐκ ἀνεμνήσθης τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν ἐν οἷς ὑπήρχομεν; εἰ οὖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐδεξάμεθα ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου, τὰ Iob ii. 10
κακὰ πάλιν οὐχ ὑπομένομεν; ἀλλὰ μακροθυμήσωμεν ἕως ἂν ὁ κύριος σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐλεήσῃ ἡμᾶς. ἆρα σὺ Mt. xvi. 23
οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν διάβολον ὄπισθέν σου στήκοντα καὶ ταράσσοντα τοὺς διαλογισμούς σου, ὅπως καὶ ἐμὲ ἀπατήσῃ; βούλεται γάρ σε δεῖξαι ὥσπερ μίαν τῶν ἀφρόνων Iob ii. 10
γυναικῶν τῶν πλανησάντων τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἁπλότητα.

XXVII. Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν Σατανᾶν εἶπον, ὄπισθεν ὄντα τῆς γυναικός μου· Ἐλθὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν· παύσαι κρυπτόμενος· μὴ ὁ λέων τὴν ἰσχὺν

Readings of P. 8 σκώλικας 9 ἐβαρήθην 11 ὑποφέρης
Readings of M. 1 Ἀπαξ.] καὶ ἁπαξ. *om.* Ἰώβ *sec.* εἰρημένων] + μοι 2 ἐπὶ ἀσθεν.] ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀσθένεια συνετρίβη] συνέτρεψε 3 σύ] οὖν σε 4 εἰπὸν] εἰπὼν 5 καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ] κἀγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἀπαλλαγήσομαι] ἀπαλλαγῶ διὰ—σώματος] διὰ πόνων τοῦ σώμ. σου 7 *om.* δέκα 9 ἐβαρ. ἡ ψυχή] ἐβαρύνθην τὴν ψυχήν 11 ὅλως καὶ ταῦτα] ὅμως τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα ἅπερ ὁρᾷς 12 ὑπαρχόντων βουλόμενος] ὑπαρχ. ὑπομένωμεν· καὶ βούλει 13 ἁλίσαι τῆς] ἄρτι λαλῆσαί τι ῥῆμα ἵνα ἀπαλλοτρ.] καὶ ἀπαλλοτριωθῆται (*l.* -ναι) 15 ἀνεμν.] ἐμνήσθης 16 ἐδεξ. *post* κυρίου τὰ κακὰ] τὰ δὲ κ. 17 ἀλλὰ μακροθ.] καὶ μακροθυμήσομεν ἐν παντὶ 18 ἂν] οὗ 19 στήκοντα] ἑστηκότα 20 ἀπατήσῃ] ἀπατήσεις 21—23 *om.* βούλεται—ἁπλότητα 24, 25 ἐγὼ—γυναικός μου] καὶ στραφεὶς ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν Σατανᾶν εἶπον 25, 26 ἐλθὲ—ἔμπρ.] διὰ τί οὐκ ἔρχου ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμπρ. πρὸς ἐμέ; κρυπτόμενος] + ταλαίπωρε

Ez. xix. 9 Deut. xxvi. 2 Ier. vi. 9

δείκνυσιν ἐν γαλάγρᾳ; μὴ τὸ πετεινὸν ἀνίπταται τυγχάνων ἐν τῷ καρτάλῳ; ἐξελθὼν πολέμησόν με. τότε ἐξόπισθεν τῆς γυναικός μου ἐξῆλθεν, καὶ σταθεὶς ἔκλαιεν, λέγων· Ἴδε, Ἰώβ, διαφωνῶ καὶ ὑποχωρῶ σοι σαρκίνῳ ὄντι, ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι πνεῦμα· σὺ μὲν ἐν πληγῇ ὑπάρχεις, ἐγώ εἰμι ἐν ὀχλήσει μεγάλῃ· ἐγένου γὰρ ὃν τρόπον ἀθλητὴς μετὰ ἀθλητοῦ, καὶ εἷς τὸν ἕνα κατέρραξαν· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπάνω τὸν ὑποκάτω ἐφίμωσεν πλήσας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἄμμου καὶ πᾶν μέρος συγκλάσας ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἐνέγκαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ <μὴ> διαφωνήσαντος μέγα ἐφώνησεν ἀκμὴν ὁ ἐπάνω. οὕτω καὶ σύ, Ἰώβ, ὑποκάτω ἦς καὶ ἐν πληγῇ· ἀλλ' ἐνίκησας τὰ πλευτρικά μου ἃ ἐπήγαγόν σοι. τότε καταισχυνθεὶς ὁ Σατανᾶς ἀνεχώρησεν

Lc. iv. 13 Iac. iii. 7, 8

ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν· νῦν οὖν, τέκνα μου, μακροθυμήσατε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν παντὶ συμβαίνοντι ὑμῖν· ὅτι κρείσσων ἐστὶν παντὸς ἡ μακροθυμία.

XXVIII. Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήρωσα εἴκοσι ἔτη τυγχάνων ἐν τῇ πληγῇ, καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰ συμβεβηκότα μοι,

Iob ii. 11, 12, 13

ἀναστάντες ἦλθον πρός με ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας ὅπως ἐπισκεψάμενοι παραμυθήσονταί με· ἡνίκα δὲ ἤγγισαν μακρόθεν, οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκόν με· κράξαντες δὲ ἔκλαυσαν, ῥίψαντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν στολὴν καὶ καταπασάμενοι γῆν παρεκάθισάν μοι ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ ἑπτὰ νύκτας· καὶ οὐθεὶς

Readings of P. 8 ἐφήμωσεν

Readings of M. 1 δείκνυσιν—γαλ.] δεικνύει ἐν τῇ γαλεάγρᾳ μὴ τὸ] μήπω om. τυγχάνων 2 om. τῷ καρτάλῳ] καρτάλλῳ; καὶ νῦν σοὶ λέγω με] μετ' ἐμοῦ 3 σταθεὶς ἔκλαιεν] ἔστη ἔμπροσθέν μου κλαίων καὶ 4 σοι]+ἀνθρώπῳ 5 om. δὲ ἐγὼ]+δὲ 6 ἐγένου γὰρ] ἐγενόμην ἀθλητὴς]+παλαίων 7 κατέρραξαν] κατέρρηξεν 7, 8 om. καὶ ὁ μὲν—ἐφίμωσεν ἄμμου] ἄμμον 9 μέρος] μέλος αὐτοῦ ὑποκάτω] ὁ δὲ ὑποκ. 10, 11 καὶ <μη> διαφ.—ἐπάνω] ἃ μὴ διαφωνήσαντος, ἐφώνησε δὲ ἀκμὴν ἐπάνω 12 πληγῇ]+κ. ἐν πόνῳ πλευτρικὰ] παλαιστρικὰ 13 σοι]+κ. ἰδοὺ ὑποχωρῶ σου 14 om. ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν 15 ὑμῖν]+λυπηρῷ 16 παντὸς] πάντων 17, 18 καὶ ὅτε—ἤκουσαν] τότε ἤκουσαν μοι]+καὶ 20 ὅπως—παραμ. με] ἐπισκεψόμενοι κ. παραμυθησόμενοί με ἤγγισαν]+μοι 21 om. μακρόθεν—με 21, 22 κράξαντες—ῥίψαντες] κράξ. φωνῇ μεγάλῃ διέρρηξαν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῶν] ἑαυτοῦ καταπασ.] κατασπασ. γῆν]+ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς 23 παρεκάθισαν] παρεκάθησαν

αὐτῶν λελάληκέν μοι· καὶ οὐχὶ μακροθυμοῦντες ἔμειναν μὴ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἤδεισάν με πρὸ τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἐν πολλῷ πλούτῳ ὄντα· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἠρξάμην αὐτοῖς ἀναφέρειν τοὺς πολυτελεῖς λίθους, ἀπεθαύμαζον, καὶ τύπτοντες τὰς χεῖρας ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἡμῶν τῶν τριῶν βασιλέων τὰ χρήματα, ἐὰν συναχθῇ εἰς ἓν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, οὐ μὴ ἀναλογήσῃ τοὺς λίθους τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῆς βασιλείας σου. εὐγενέστερος γὰρ ἦμην τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν. Iob i. 3
ὀπηνίκα δὲ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Αὐσιτίδα, ἐρωτήσαντες ἐν τῇ πόλει· Ποῦ Ἰωβὰβ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὅλης βασιλεύων; καὶ ἐμήνυσαν αὐτοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅτι Κάθηται ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως· ἔχει γὰρ εἴκοσι ἔτη μὴ ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει.—πάλιν ἠρώτησαν περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μου· καὶ ἐδηλώθη αὐτοῖς τὰ συμβεβηκότα μοι.

XXIX. Καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐξῆλθον τὴν πόλιν ἅμα τοῖς πολίταις· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολῖταί μου ὑπέδειξάν με αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀντέτειναν λέγοντες μὴ εἶναί με τὸν Ἰωβάβ. ἁπαξαπλῶς ἔτι ἀμφιβαλλόντων, στραφεὶς πρός με Ἐλιφὰς ὁ τῶν Θεμανῶν βασιλεὺς εἶπεν· Σὺ εἶ Ἰωβὰβ ὁ συμβασιλεὺς ἡμῶν; ἐγὼ δὲ κλαύσας κατεπασάμην γῆν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς μου, καὶ κινήσας αὐτὴν ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ἐγώ εἰμι. Dan. (LXX) iv. 16

XXX. Ἰδόντες δέ με κινοῦντα τὴν κεφαλήν μου κατέπεσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκλυθέντες· καὶ ταραχθέντων τῶν

Readings of P. 11 κάθητε

Readings of M. 1 μοι]+ ῥῆμα· ἦσαν δὲ τέσσαρες τῷ ἀριθμῷ, Ἐλιφὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεμανῶν, καὶ Βαλδάδ, καὶ Σωφάρ, καὶ Ἐλιούς· καθεζόμενοι διελογίζοντο τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ 1—3 om. καὶ οὐχὶ—ὄντα καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἠρξάμην] κ. γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὅταν ἤρχοντο πρός με καὶ ἠρξάμην 4 αὐτοῖς post ἀναφέρειν 5 om. τύπτ. τὰς χεῖρας 5, 6 Ἡμῶν—ἐὰν] ἂν ἡμ. τῶν τρ. βασ. τὰ χρήμ. 7 ἀναλογήσῃ] ἀναλώσει 8 σου] Ἰωβάβ ἦμην] εἶ 9 ὀπην. δὲ] ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐρωτήσαντες] ὅπως ἐπισκέψωσί με, ἠρώτησαν 10 Αἰγύπτου] χώρας ταύτης 12 ἔχει—ἔτη] ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἔτη ζ̄ 13 πάλιν] καὶ πάλιν μου] μοι 14 μοι]+ πάντα 17 ἀντέτειναν] ἀντέτεινον ἁπαξ.] καὶ 18 ἀμφιβ.]+ αὐτῶν στραφεὶς πρός με] λέγει 19 om. τῶν 19—21 Σὺ—κεφαλῆς μου] Δεῦτε ἐγγίσωμεν καὶ ἴδωμεν. καὶ ἐρχομένων αὐτῶν ἐμηνύθη μοι περὶ αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐγὼ ἔκλαυσα σφοδρῶς μαθὼν τὴν ἔλευσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν μου ἀνέθηκα, καὶ καθεζόμενος ἐκίνουν τὴν κεφ. μου 23 om. με κατέπεσαν εἰς] κατέπεσον ἐπὶ 24 καὶ ταραχθ.] καὶ ἱσταμένων

στρατευμάτων αὐτῶν βλεπόντων τοὺς τρεῖς βασιλεῖς κατερριμμένους ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ ὥρας τρεῖς ὡσεὶ νεκρούς, τότε ἀναστάντες συνελάλουν ἀλλήλοις ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν. καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκάθισαν ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἡμέραις διακρίνοντες τὰ κατ᾽ ἐμέ, διαλογιζόμενοι τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, λέγοντες· Μὴ οὐκ οἴδαμεν τὰ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἀποστελλόμενα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς κώμας καὶ εἰς τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις διαδίδοσθαι τοῖς πτωχοῖς, παρεκτὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ
Is. xiv. 12 ἐρριμένων; πῶς νῦν εἰς τὴν τοσαύτην νεκρότητα κατέπεσεν;

XXXI. Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας οὕτω διαλογιζομένους, ἀποκριθεὶς Ἐλιοὺς εἶπεν τοῖς συμβασιλεῦσιν· Προσεγγιοῦμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξετάσωμεν αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς εἰ ὅλως αὐτός ἐστιν ἢ οὔ. οἱ δὲ μακρά μου ὄντος, ὡς ἥμισυ σταδίου, διὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν τοῦ σώματός μου ἀναστάντες προσήγγισάν μοι ἔχοντες εὐωδίας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, συνόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῶν καὶ θυμίαμα βαλλόντων μοι κυκλόθεν, ἵνα δυνηθῶσιν προσεγγίσαι μοι· καὶ ἐποίησαν τρεῖς ἡμέρας χορηγοῦντες τὰ θυμιάματα· καὶ ὅτε πλησίον μου ἐγένοντο, ἀποκριθεὶς Ἐλιοὺς εἶπεν μοι· Σὺ εἶ Ἰωβὰβ ὁ συμβασιλεὺς ἡμῶν; σὺ εἶ ὁ τότε ἔχων τὴν μεγάλην δόξαν; σὺ εἶ ὁ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ; σὺ εἶ <ὁ> ὡς ἡ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἐν τῷ μεσονυκτίῳ φαίνοντες; καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Ἐγώ εἰμι. καὶ οὕτως κλαύσας κλαυθμὸν μέγαν σὺν θρήνῳ βασιλικῷ ἀνεφώνησεν ὑποφωνούντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων αὐτῶν.

Readings of P. 2 κατερριγμένων 8 διαδιδώσθαι 16 συνώντων 18 χωρηγοῦντες

Readings of M. 1 βλεπόντων] ἔβλεπον 2 κατερριγμένων] κατερριμμένους ὡς. νεκρ. *post* γῇ 3 ὅτι]+ οὐ πιστεύομεν ὅτι ἐστιν] Ἰωβάβ 5 τὰ κτήνη] τά τε κτ. 7 *trs.* πόλεις *et* κώμας 8 παρεκτὸς]+ καὶ 9 ἐρριμένων] δεδομένων — τοσαυτ.—κατέπεσεν] τοιαύτην νεκρότ. καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ἐξέπεσε 10 Ἐγένετο δὲ] καὶ *om.* οὕτω διαλογιζομένους 11 συμβασ.] βασιλεῦσι 12 Προσεγγ.] προσεγγίσωμεν *om.* αὐτὸν 13 αὐτός ἐστιν] ἐστιν Ἰωβὰβ *om.* μακρὰ ἥμισυ] ἡμισέως 16 αὐτοῖς] αὐτῶν *om.* αὐτῶν θυμίαμα] θυμιάματα 17 ἵνα] ὅπως ἂν 18 ἐποίησαν] ποιήσαντες τρεῖς ἡμέρας] ὡσεὶ ὥρας τρεῖς 19 *om.* καὶ ὅτε ἐγένοντο] ἐγίνοντο. καὶ Ἐλιοὺς] Ἐλιφὰζ 21 τότε *post* ἔχων *om.* ὁ *bis.* 22 ἐν 1°] λάμπων *om.* ἡ 23 φαίνοντες] φαίνοντι εἶπον] ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπον 24 κλαύσας] κλαύσαντες 25 ἀνεφώνησεν—Ἰώβ] ἀνεφώνησεν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῶν· καὶ πάλιν ὑπολαβὼν Ἐλιοὺς λέγει μοι.

XXXII. Ἀκούσατε οὖν τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ τοῦ Ἐλιοῦ ὑποδεικνύοντος τοῖς παισὶν τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ Ἰώβ.

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὰ ἑπτακισχίλια πρόβατα ἐκτάξας εἰς τὴν τῶν πτωχῶν ἔνδυσιν;

ποῦ οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὰς τρισχιλίας καμήλους ἐκτάξας εἰς μεταφορὰν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς πένησιν;

ποῦ οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὰς χιλίας βοῦς ἐκτάξας τοῖς πένησιν εἰς ἀροτρίαν;

ποῦ οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα <τοῦ θρόνου> σου;

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τοὺς χρυσέους κραββάτους ἔχων, νυνὶ δὲ καθήμενος ἐπὶ κοπρίας;

ποῦ νῦν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὸν θρόνον ἐκ λίθων πολυτελῶν ἔχων, νυνὶ δὲ ἐν ὁδῷ καθήμενος;

ποῦ νῦν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;

Τίς γὰρ κατά σε ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τέκνων σου; ὡς γὰρ φυτὸν ἦς εὐώδους μήλους συνανθοῦν· cf. Ps. cxxvii. 3

ποῦ νῦν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα <τοῦ θρόνου> σου;

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὰς ἱδρυμένας ἑξήκοντα τραπέζας τοῖς πτωχοῖς στηρίξας;

ποῦ νῦν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὰ θυμιατήρια τῆς εὐώδους ἐκκλησίας ἔχων, νυνὶ <δὲ> ἐν δυσωδίᾳ ὑπάρχεις;

<ποῦ νῦν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;>

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τοὺς χρυσέους λύχνους ἐπὶ τὰς ἀργυρᾶς λυχνίας <ἔχων>, νυνὶ δὲ προσδοκᾷς τὴν φαῦσιν τῆς σελήνης;

ποῦ οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;

Readings of P. 19 *συνανθων scr.* οἰνανθῶν?

Readings of M. 3 *ἐκτάξας*] *ἐντάξας* 5 *οὖν*] *νυν* *om. τοῦ θρόνου* 6—8 *om.* 9 *χιλίας*] *τρισχιλίους* *ἐκτάξας*] *ἐντ.* *τοῖς—ἀροτρίαν*] *εἰς ἀροτριασμὸν τῶν πενήτων* 11 *οὖν*] *νῦν* 12 *νυνὶ*] *νῦν semper* 14 *om. uersum* 15, 16 *om. duos uersus* 18, 19 *om.* 23 *om.* 24 *τῆς εὐώδους ἐκκλησίας*] *τῆς ὠδῆς ἐκ λίθων* 24—26 *νυνὶ—θρόνου σου*] *ποῦ νῦν τυγχ. ἡ δόξα σου, ὅτι ἐν δυσωδίᾳ νῦν ὑπάρχεις;* 27 *om. τοὺς* *om. λύχνους* *λυχνίας*] + *ἔχων* 28 *φαῦσιν*] *φύσιν τοῦ φωτὸς* 30 *om.*

Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὸ ἄλιμμα ἔχων ἐκ τοῦ λιβάνου, νυνὶ δὲ ἐν ἀπορείᾳ ὤν;
ποῦ οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;
Iob v. 22 Σὺ εἶ ὁ καταγελάσας τῶν ἀδικούντων καὶ ἁμαρτανόντων, νυνὶ δὲ ἐγένου εἰς χλεύην;
ποῦ νῦν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα <τοῦ θρόνου> σου;
Σὺ εἶ Ἰὼβ ὁ τὴν μεγάλην δόξαν ἔχων;
ποῦ νῦν τυγχάνει ἡ δόξα τοῦ θρόνου σου;

XXXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Ἐλιοῦ μακρύναντος τὸν κλαυθμόν, ὑποφωνούντων αὐτῷ τῶν συμβασιλέων, ὥστε γενέσθαι μεγάλην ταραχήν, καὶ καταπαυσάσης τῆς κραυγῆς εἶπεν
cf. Ps. xliv. 7 cf. *Apoc. Petri* αὐτοῖς Ἰώβ· Σιωπήσατε· νῦν ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν τὸν θρόνον μου καὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Ps. cix. 1 Sap. xiv. 3 Sir. xxiii. 1, 4 cf. 1 Cor. vii. 31 1 Io. ii. 17 Didache x. Zech. ii. 12 Ἐμοῦ ὁ θρόνος ἐν τῷ ὑπερκοσμίῳ ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ τούτου δόξα καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός ἐστιν· ὁ κόσμος ὅλος παρελεύσεται καὶ [ὁ κόσμος ὅλος] ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ φθαρήσεται καὶ οἱ προσέχοντες αὐτῷ ἔσονται ἐν τῇ καταστροφῇ αὐτοῦ· ἐμοὶ δὲ ὁ θρόνος ὑπάρχει ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ γῇ, καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνί ἐστιν τοῦ ἀπαραλλάκτου.

Iac. i. 17 Iob iv. 10, xiv. 11 Zech. x. 11 Οἱ μὲν ποταμοὶ ξηρανθήσονται, καὶ τὸ γαυρίαμα τῶν κυμάτων αὐτῶν καταβαίνει εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς ἀβύσσου.

Is. xix. 5, l. 2 Heb. vii. 3, x. 1, 12, 14 οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐν ᾗ ἐστιν ὁ θρόνος μου οὐ ξηραίνονται οὐδὲ ἀφανισθήσονται, ἀλλ' ἔσονται εἰς τὸ διηνεκές.

Readings of P. 1 ἄλημμα 18 φθαρίσεται

Readings of M. 1 *om.* τὸ 2 ἀπορείᾳ] σαπρίᾳ 3 *om.* 4 καταγελάσας] καταγελῶν 5 *om.* δὲ εἰς χλεύην] χλεύη πᾶσι 6, 7, 8 *om.* 9 Ἐλιοῦ μακρύναντος] Ἐλιφὰζ μακρύνοντος 10 συμβασ.] βασ. 11 ταραχὴν]+αὐτῶν 11, 12 καὶ—Ἰώβ] εἶπον αὐτοῖς Σιωπήσ. νῦν] σιωπᾶτε καὶ 13, 14 καὶ τὴν εὐπρ.—ἁγίοις] τῆς εὐπρεπείας αὐτοῦ 15—21 Ἐμοῦ—ἀπαραλλάκτου] ἐμοῦ ὁ θρόνος αἰώνιός ἐστιν· ὁ κόσμος ὅλος παρελ. καὶ ἡ δ. αὐτ. φθαρ. κ. οἱ προσέχ. αὐτ. ἔσονται ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ· ἐμοῦ ὁ θρ. ἐν τῷ ὑπερκ. ἐστί, κ. ἡ τούτου δόξα κ. ἡ εὐπρ. ἐκ δεξ. τῶν (*l.* τοῦ) σωτῆρός ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς· ἐμοῦ ὁ θρ. ὑπάρχει ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ζωῇ κ. ἡ δόξα ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἀπαραλλ. ἐστίν 22, 23 τὸ γαυρ.—αὐτῶν] τὰ γαβριάματα αὐτῶν 26 *om.* οὐδὲ ἀφανισθ.

Οὗτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς παρελεύσονται, καὶ οἱ ἡγεμονες παρέρχονται, ἡ δὲ δόξα καὶ τὸ καύχημα αὐτῶν ἔσονται ὡς ἔσοπτρον· Prov. xi. 7 Iac. i. 23

ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ βασιλεία εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων, καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ εὐπρέπεια αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ἅρμασιν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπάρχει.

XXXIV. Καὶ ἐμοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἵνα σιωπήσωσιν, ὀργισθεὶς Ἐλιφὰς εἶπεν τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις· Τί χρήσιμον ὅτι οὕτω παραγεγόναμεν σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἵνα παραμυθησώμεθα αὐτόν; καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς προσεγκαλεῖ ἡμῖν· διὸ ἀναχωρήσωμεν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας χώρας· αὐτὸς ἐν ταλαιπωρίᾳ σκωλήκων κάθηται καὶ δυσωδίαις, καὶ ἀκμὴν ἐπαίρεται καθ' ἡμῶν Βασιλεῖαι παρέρχονται καὶ αἱ ἡγεμονίαι αὐτῶν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡμῖν, φησιν, ἔσται ἕως αἰῶνος. ἀναστὰς δὲ ἐν μεγάλῃ ταραχῇ Ἐλιφὰς ἔκλινεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ λύπῃ λέγων· Ἐγὼ πορεύομαι· ἐληλύθαμεν γὰρ ἵνα παραμυθησώμεθα αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκμὴν κατέλυσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπέναντι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἡμῶν. 4 Reg. v. 12

XXXV. Τότε Βαλδὰδ ἐκράτησεν αὐτὸν λέγων ὅτι Οὐχ οὕτως δεῖ λαλῆσαι ἀνθρώπῳ πενθοῦντι, οὐ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐν πληγαῖς πολλαῖς ὄντι· ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ὅλως ὑγιαίνοντες οὐκ ἰσχύσαμεν προσεγγίσαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν δυσωδίαν εἰ μὴ διὰ πλείονος εὐωδίας· σὺ ὅλως, Ἐλιφά, ἀμνημονεύεις πῶς ἐγένου νοσήσας ἐν ταῖς δυσὶν ἡμέραις; νῦν οὖν μακροθυμήσωμεν <ἵνα γνῶμεν> ἐν τίνι ἐστίν· μήτι ἄρα μνήσκεται αὐτοῦ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῆς προτέρας, καὶ ἐμάνη κατὰ

Readings of P. 13 ἡγεμωνίαι

Readings of M. 1 *om.* οὗτοι ἡγεμόνες] ἡγούμενοι 2 ἡ δὲ] καὶ ἡ αὐτῶν *post* δόξα ἔσονται] ἔσται 3 ἔσοπτρον] ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ 4 ἐμοὶ] ἐμοῦ αἰῶνας αἰώνων] αἰῶνα αἰῶνος 6 λέγοντος] εἰπόντος 6, 7 *om.* ἵνα σιωπ. 7 Ἐλιφὰς] Ἐλιφὰζ *semper* τοῖς ἄλλ. φίλ.] πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλ. φίλ. 8 οὕτω] οὕτως σὺν] ἐν στρατευμ.]+ὧδε 9, 10 αὐτὸς προσεγκ.] οὗτος ἐγκαλεῖ 11 αὐτὸς] οὗτος κ. δυσωδίαις] ἐν δυσωδίᾳ 12 ἐπαίρεται] ἐγείρεται ἡμῶν]+λέγων 13 αἱ ἡγεμον.] οἱ ἡγούμενοι κ. ἰδοὺ ἡμῖν] ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ βασιλεία ἕως]+τοῦ 14 ἔκλινεν] ἐξέκλ. 15 λύπῃ] λύττῃ πορεύομαι] πορεύσομαι 16 ἀκμὴν] αὐτὸς 18 αὐτὸν]+τῆς χειρὸς *om.* ὅτι 19 μόνον]+δὲ 20 πληγ. *post* πολλ. 22 πλείονος] πολλῆς 22, 23 σὺ—ἡμέραις] σὺ δὲ ὅλως ἀμνήμων εἶς, Ἐλιφάζ, ἁπλῶς γενοῦ· 23, 24 μακροθυμ.]+ἵνα γνῶμεν μήτι]+ἐξέστη αὐτοῦ ἡ καρδία; μήτι μνήσκεται] μιμνησκόμενος 25 καὶ ἐμάνη] ἐμάνη

ψυχήν; τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλαγείη καὶ μανῇ ὑπάρχων ἐν πληγαῖς; ἀλλ' ἔασόν με προσεγγίσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ γνώσομαι ἐν τίνι ἐστίν.

XXXVI. Τότε ἐγερθεὶς Βαλδὰδ προσήγγισέν μοι λέγων· Σὺ εἶ Ἰώβ; καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Ναί. καὶ εἶπεν· Ps. lxxiv. 4 Ἆρα ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι ἡ καρδία σου; κἀγὼ εἶπον ὅτι Ἐν μὲν τοῖς γηΐνοις οὐ συνέστηκεν, ἐπεὶ ἀκατάστατος ἡ γῆ Eph. i. 3 etc. καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις συνέστηκεν ἡ καρδία μου, διότι οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἐν οὐρανῷ ταραχή. ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Βαλδὰδ λέγει ὅτι μὲν Γινώσκομεν τὴν γῆν ἀκατάστατον οὖσαν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀλλοιοῦται· ἐνίοτε εὐθύνεται, ἐνίοτε δὲ εἰρηνεύει, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ πολε- Mc. xii. 34 cf. Mt. xxi. 24 μεῖται· περὶ δὲ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀκούομεν ὅτι εὐσταθεῖ. ἀλλ' εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐν τούτῳ τυγχάνεις, ἐρωτήσω σε λόγον· καὶ ἐὰν Mc. xi. 24 Lc. xx. 1 ἀποκριθῇς μοι πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον νουνεχῶς, [δῆλον ὅτι] ἐρωτήσω σε ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ· καὶ ἐὰν ἀποκριθῇς μοι εὐσταθῶς, δῆλον ὅτι γνωσόμεθα ὅτι ἡ καρδία σου οὐκ ἐξίσταται.

XXXVII. Καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ἐπὶ τίνος σὺ ἐλπίζεις; καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ζῶντι. καὶ πάλιν εἶπέν μοι· Τίς ἀφείλατο τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σου ἢ ἐπήνεγκέν σοι τὰς πληγὰς ταύτας; καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον ὅτι Ὁ θεός. καὶ πάλιν ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν πρός με· Ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐλπίζεις; πῶς † οὖν ἄδικος η κρίνων † ἐπενεγκών σοι τὰς πληγὰς ταύτας ἢ ἀφελόμενός σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα; εἰ ἐδίδου καὶ ἀφείλατο, ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν ὅλως μὴ δεδωκέναι τι· οὐδέποτε βασιλεὺς ἀτιμάσει στρατιώτην ἴδιον καλῶς αὐτῷ δορυ-

Readings of P. 13 εὐσταθῇ 17 γνωσώμεθα

Readings of M. 1 ἐκπλαγείη] ἐκπλαγῇ πάνυ *om.* καὶ μανῇ 1, 2 ὑπάρχων ἐν πληγαῖς] βλέπων ἑαυτὸν τοιοῦτον ἐνυπερβάλλοντα κακοῖς καὶ πληγαῖς 3 ἐστίν] ἔσται 4 Τότε] καὶ 5 *om.* αὐτῷ 6 καθεστηκότι] καθεστῶτι ἐστιν *om.* ὅτι 7 ἐπεί] ἐπειδὴ 8 οἱ ἐνοικ.] πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπουρ.] οὐρανοῖς 11 ἐπεὶ γὰρ] ἐπειδὴ 12 *om.* εὐθυν. ἐνίοτε δὲ 13, 14 ἀλλ' εἰ] ἀλλ' ἀεὶ (*sic*) 14 τούτῳ] τῷ καθεστῶτι σε λόγον] δὲ λέγων 15, 16 τὸ —ἐρωτήσω] τὸν πρῶτον νοῦν, ἔχω σε ἐρωτῆσαι 16 εὐσταθῶς] εὐσταθὲς 17 *om.* ὅτι γνωσόμεθα ἐξίσταται] ἐξέστηκεν 18 *om.* πάλιν Ἐπὶ τίνος] ἐν τίνι 19 *om.* ἐγὼ *om.* πάλιν 20 τὰ ὑπάρχ. *post* σου 21 *om.* ὅτι 22 *om.* πάλιν ὑπολ. *om.* πρός με Ἐπ] εἰ 23 *om.* οὖν ἄδικος η κρίνων] ἀδικῆσαι κρῖνον πληγὰς] + καὶ συμφορὰς 24 σου] σοι ἐδίδου] δὲ 25 *om.* ὅλως δεδωκέναι] διδόναι 26 ἀτιμάσει] ἀτιμάζει ἴδιον] αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν

φοροῦντα· ἤ τίς ποτε καταλήψεται τὰ βάθη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ, ἢ κατατολμᾷ τις προσάπτειν τῷ κυρίῳ ἀδίκημα; ἀποκρίνου μοι, Ἰώβ, πρὸς ταῦτα. καὶ πάλιν λέγω σοι, εἰ ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι ὑπάρχεις, δεῖξον, εἰ ἔστιν σοι φρόνησις, διὰ τί ἥλιον μὲν ὁρῶμεν ἀνατέλλοντα ἐν ἀνατολαῖς, δύνοντα δὲ ἐν τῇ δύσει, καὶ πάλιν ἀνιστάμενοι κατὰ πρωὶ εὑρίσκομεν τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνατολαῖς ἀνατέλλοντα; νουθέτησόν με πρὸς ταῦτα, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ θεραπων τοῦ θεοῦ.

Is. xl 13
1 Cor. ii. 10 sqq.
Mc. xi. 29, 30

XXXVIII. Καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπον· Ἔστι μὲν φρονησις ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ συνέστηκεν ἡ καρδία μου· διὰ τί οὖν μὴ λαλήσω τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ κυρίου; ἢ ὅλως ἂν πταίσῃ μου τὸ στόμα εἰς τὸν δεσπότην; μὴ γένοιτο· τίνες γὰρ ἐσμὲν πολυπραγμονοῦντες τὰ οὐράνια σάρκινοι ὄντες, ἔχοντες τὴν μερίδα ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐν σποδῷ; ἵνα οὖν γνῶτε ὅτι συνέστηκεν ἡ καρδία μου, ἀκούσατε ὃ ἐπερωτῶ ὑμᾶς. διὰ στόματος ἡ τροφὴ εἰσέρχεται, καὶ πάλιν τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στόματος πίνεται, καὶ πέμπεται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φάρυγγι· ὅταν δὲ καταβῇ τὰ δύο εἰς τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα, τότε ἀφορίζεται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· τίς οὖν ταῦτα διαχωρίζει; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Βαλδάδ· Ἀγνοῶ. ἐγὼ πάλιν ὑπολαβὼν εἶπον αὐτῷ· Εἰ οὖν τὴν τοῦ σώματος πορείαν οὐ καταλαμβάνεις, πῶς τὰ ἐπουράνια καταλήψει; ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Σοφὰρ εἶπεν· Οὐχὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐρευνῶμεν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμεθα γνῶναι εἰ ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι ὑπάρχεις, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀληθῶς ἔγνωμεν ὅτι ἡ σύνεσίς σου οὐκ ἠλλοίωται· τί οὖν βούλει ἡμᾶς ἐν σοὶ διαπράξασθαι; ἰδοὺ γὰρ πάρεσμεν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τοὺς

cf. Prov. xxx. 2
cf. Iac. i. 2
Iob xxx. 19
Mt. xv. 17
Mc. vii. 29
Io. iii. 12
Io. vii. 26, xvii. 8

Readings of P. 12 πτέση 24 βουλώμεθα 27 πάρωμεν

Readings of M. 2 ἢ κατατολμᾷ τις] ἵνα τολμᾷς 4 καθεστηκότι] καθεστῶτι δεῖξον] δίδαξόν με 6 ἐν ἀνατολαῖς] ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς 7 *om.* τὸν 8, 9 *om.* εἰ—θεοῦ 10 Καὶ—εἶπον] εἶπον δὲ ἐγὼ 10, 11 *om.* Ἔστι—καρδ. μου 12 κυρίου] θεοῦ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου ἢ] μὴ 13 *om.* μὴ γένοιτο 14 τὰ οὐράν.] τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ ὄντες] + καὶ 17 στόματος] τοῦ στόματος οὖν *om.* εἰσέρχεται 18 *om.* αὐτοῦ 18, 19 πέμπεται—φάρυγγι] ὁμοῦ κατέρχονται διὰ τοῦ φάρυγγος 20 ἀφορίζεται] ἀφορίζονται διαχωρίζει] χωρίζει 21 πάλιν] δὲ 22 οὖν] σὺ πορείαν] σου πορίαν 23 καταλήψει] -εις δὲ] + καὶ εἶπεν] λέγει 24 ἡμᾶς] ἡμῶν εἰ ἐν τῷ] ἐὰν ἐν τῷ σαυτοῦ 26 ἠλλοίωται] ἠλλοιώθη 27 πάρεσμεν—ἡμῶν] παρόντες μεθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἰατρ. τῶν τρ. βασιλέων ἐπαγάγομεν

ἰατροὺς τῶν τριῶν βασιλειῶν ἡμῶν· καὶ βούλει θεραπευθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν; ἴσως ἀναπαύσει. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπον·
Sir. xxxviii. 1 Ἡ ἐμὴ ἴασις καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ θεραπεία παρὰ κυρίου ἐστίν, τοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς κτίσαντος.

XXXIX. Καὶ ἐμοῦ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντος, ἦλθεν ἡ γυνή μου Σίτιδος ἐν ἱματίοις ῥακκώδοις, ἀποδράσασα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ οἰκοδεσπότου δουλείας, ἐπεὶ ἐκωλύετο ἐξελθεῖν ἵνα μὴ ἰδόντες οἱ συμβασιλεῖς ἁρπάσωσιν αὐτήν· ὅτε οὖν ἦλθεν, ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ κλαί-
1 Th. i. 5 ουσα ἔλεγεν· Μνήσθητί μου, ὁ Ἐλιφάς, καὶ οἱ δύο φίλοι σου, ὅτι ὁποία τις ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, καὶ πῶς ἐστολιζόμην· νυνὶ δὲ ὁρᾶτε τὴν προέλευσίν μου τί ἐνδύομαι. τότε κλαύσαντες κλαυθμὸν μέγαν, γενόμενοι ἐν διπλῇ ἀκηδίᾳ ἐσιώπησαν· ὡς τὸν Ἐλιφὰν ἅραντα τὴν πορφυρίδα αὐτοῦ περιρῆξαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν τὴν γυναῖκά μου. ἡ δὲ ἐδέετο αὐτῶν λέγουσα· Παρακαλῶ, κελεύσατε τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑμῶν ἵνα σκάψωσιν τὴν πτῶσιν τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐπιπεσούσης τοῖς τέκνοις μου, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν ἀσφαλίσασθαι ἐπὶ μνήμῃ < ..... > ἰσχύσωμεν διὰ τὰ ἀναλώματα· ὅπως θεάσωμεν κἂν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν· μὴ ἄρα θηρίον ἐγώ, ἢ κτηνώδη γαστέρα ἔχω, ὅτι τὰ τέκνα μου δέκα τέθνηκεν, καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν κεκήδευκα; καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ σκάπτειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκώλυσα λέγων· Μὴ κάμητε εἰκῇ· οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσετε τὰ παιδία μου, ἐπειδὴ ἀνελήφθησαν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. τότε πάλιν

Readings of P. 6 Σίτωδος 24 εὑρήσητε

Readings of M. 1 καὶ]+εἰ 2 *om. ισ. ἀναπ.* δὲ]+ἐγὼ 3 *om.* ἡ ἐμὴ 5 ἦλθεν] ἰδοὺ 6 Σίτιδος] Σίτις ῥακκώδοις] -εσιν 7 οἰκοδεσπ.] δεσπ. δουλείας]+ᾧ ἐδούλευσεν 8 συμβασιλεῖς] βασ. αὐτὴν *post* ἰδόντες οὖν] δὲ 9, 10 καὶ κλαίουσα ἔλεγεν] κλαί. κ. λέγουσα *om.* μου, ὁ *om.* δύο 11 *om.* σου, ὅτι 12 νυνὶ] νῦν 13 κλαύσαντες]+οἱ βασιλεῖς μέγαν]+καὶ 14 ὡς] ὥστε 15 περιρῆξαι—γυν. μου] περίρριψαι ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐνδυθῆναι 16 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ Παρακ. κελεύσ.] παρακ. ὑμᾶς, κύριοί μου, ὅπως κελεύσητε 17 τῆς ἐπιπεσούσης] ἡμῶν τὴν πεσοῦσαν ἐπάνω 18, 19 ἀσφαλίσ. ἐπὶ—ἰσχύσωμεν] ἀσφαλισθῇ ἐπὶ μνήματα, ἐπεὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἰσχύσαμεν 20 θεάσωμεν] -θα ἄρα]+δὲ 20, 21 θηρίον—ἔχω] ἐγὼ ἡ κτηνώδης γαστέρα θηρίου ἔχω 21 δέκα τέθνηκεν] δέκα ὄντα τεθνήκασιν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ 22 κεκηδ.] ἐκήδεσα 22, 23 καὶ οἱ—σκάπτειν] καὶ ἐκέλευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τοῦ σκαφῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν 23 ἐκώλυσα]+αὐτοὺς κάμητε] κάμετε 24 εὑρήσετε] εὕρηται 24, 25 ἀνεληφθ.—ὑπὸ] πεφυλαγμένα εἰσὶ παρὰ 25 τοῦ] καὶ τότε πάλιν] καὶ

ἀποκριθέντες εἶπάν μοι· Τίς πάλιν οὐκ ἐρεῖ ὅτι ἐξεστήκεις καὶ μαίνει; εἶπας ὅτι Ἀνελήφθη τὰ τέκνα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. διὸ ἔκφανον ἡμῖν τὸ ἀληθές. Mc. iii. 21 Io. x. 20 Act. xii. 15

XL. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπον αὐτοῖς· Ἐγείρατέ με ἵνα σταθῶ. οἱ δὲ ἤγειράν με, ἑκατέρωθεν τοὺς βραχίονας μου ὑποστηρίζοντες· καὶ τότε σταθεὶς ἐξωμολογησάμην πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν εἶπον αὐτοῖς· Ἀναβλέψατε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἴδετε τὰ τέκνα μου ἐστεφανωμένα παρὰ τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου. ἰδοῦσα δὲ τότε Σίτιδος ἡ γυνή μου κατέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσκυνοῦσα καὶ εἶπεν· Νῦν ἔγνων ὅτι ὑπάρχει μοι μνημόσυνον παρὰ κυρίου· ἀναστήσομαι δὴ καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ καμμύσω ὀλίγον καὶ ἀνακτήσομαι πρὸ τῆς ὑπουργείας τῆς δουλείας μου. καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπαύλην τῶν βοῶν αὐτῆς τῶν ἁρπασθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἷς ἐδούλευεν· καὶ περί τινα φάτνην ἐκοιμήθη καὶ τετελεύτηκεν εὐθυμήσασα· καὶ ὁ μὲν δεσποτικὸς αὐτῆς ἄρχων ἐπιζητήσας αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ εὑρὼν εἰσῆλθεν ἑσπέρας οὔσης εἰς τὴν ἐπαύλην τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὴν νεκρὰν ἡπλωμένην· καὶ ἅπαντες ἰδόντες ἀνέκραξαν μετὰ μυκήματος κλαυθμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἔδωκεν διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως· καὶ τότε εἰσεπήδησαν γνῶναι τὸ γεγονός, καὶ εὗρον αὐτὴν νεκράν, τὰ δὲ περιε- Mc. xvi. 19 Heb. ii. 7, 9 (Ps. viii.) Ps. lxvii. 15 Ps. xix. 6 Io. viii. 52 Act. xii. 11 Lc. ii. 16 cf. Act. ix. 39

Readings of P. 5 βραχιώνας 6 ἐξομολ. 12 ἀναστήσωμαι 13 ἀνκτήσωμαι 23 γεγονώς

Readings of M. 1 ἀποκριθ.]+οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐξεστήκεις] ἐξέστης 2 εἶπας—οὐρανόν] ὅτι βουλομένους ἡμᾶς ἀγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν παίδων σου κωλύεις λέγων ὅτι Ἀνελήφθησαν καὶ ἐφυλάχθησαν παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ αὐτῶν 4 om. ὑπολαβὼν Ἐγείρατε] ἐπεγείρ. 5 σταθῶ] στῶ 6 om. μου om. τότε 7 πρὸς τὸν πατέρα] τῷ θεῷ πρῶτον 8 ὀφθ.]+ὑμῶν ἀνατολὴν] -ὰς καὶ ἴδετε] καὶ ἀναβλέψαντες εἶδον 9 τῇ δόξῃ] τῆς δόξης ἐπουρανίου]+βασιλέως 10 ἰδοῦσα—γυνή μου] ἡ δὲ γυνή μου Σίτις ἰδοῦσα ταῦτα ἐπὶ] εἰς 11 προσκυν. κ. εἶπεν] προσκυν. τῷ θεῷ κ. λέγουσα ἔγνων] ἔγνω 13, 14 om. ἀνακτήσομαι—δουλ. μου 14—16 καὶ ἀπελθ.—ἐδούλευεν] κ. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, ἑσπέρας καταλαβούσης ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους αὐτῆς ἐν οἷς ἐδούλευεν 16, 17 καὶ περί—εὐθυμ.] κ. ἐκοιμ. περὶ τὴν φατ. τῶν βοῶν κἀκεῖ ἐτελεύτησεν ἀθυμήσασα 18 αὐτῆς post ἄρχων 19 om. ἑσπ. οὔσης 20 ἡπλωμ.]+ἐπὶ τῆς φάτνης, τὰ δὲ περιεστῶτα—ἐπ' αὐτήν (*p.* 129, *l.* 23—*p.* 130, *l.* 1) ἅπαντες ἰδόντες] πάντες ἰδ. αὐτὴν 21 om. μυκήμ. om. ἐπ' αὐτήν 22 ἔδωκεν] διεδόθη 22, 23 om. καὶ τότε—νεκράν

στῶτα ζῷα κλαίοντα ἐπ' αὐτὸν· καὶ οὕτως προκομισαντες αὐτὴν ἐκυδευσαν θαψαντες περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν συμπεπτωκυῖαν ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς· καὶ κοπετὸν μεγαν ἐποιησαν οἱ
Act. viii. 2 πτωχοὶ τῆς πολεως, λεγοντες· Ἴδετε ἡ Σιτιδος ἐστιν αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ καυχηματος καὶ τῆς δοξης γυνη, ὅτι οὐ κατηξιωθη ταφῆς ἀναγκαιας. τὸν μὲν οὖν βρῶγον τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ
cf. 2 Par. xxxv. 35 γενόμενον εὑρησετε ἐν τοῖς παραλειπομένοις.

XLI. Ἐλιφὰς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παρεκαθισάν μοι ἀνταποκρινόμενοι καὶ μεγαλορη<μο>νοῦντες, ὡς μετὰ εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀναστῆνα, αὐτοὺς καὶ πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν χαραν, καὶ ὁρκωθῆνα, αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Ἐλιοῦ
Iob xxxvi. 2 λέγοντος· Μεινατέ με, ἕως καὶ τὸ περὶ τουτου δείξω αὐτῷ, ὅτι τοσαυτας ἡμέρας ἐποιησατε ἀνεχομενοι τοῦ Ἰὼβ καυχωμένου εἶναι δικαιου· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἀνέξομαι· ἀρχὴν γὰρ καὶ κλαυθμὸν διετέλεσα αὐτῷ, ἀναμιμνησκομενος τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῆς προτέρας, καὶ ἐποιησεν αὐτὸν ἀθρόως εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ ὕψωμα· καὶ ἰδοὺ μεγαλως καὶ ὑπερβαλλοντως
2 Cor. xi. 23 λελάληκεν λεγων ἔχειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βρόγον ἐν οὐρανοῖς· τοιγυν ἐμοῦ ἀκουσατε, καὶ γνωρισω ὑμῖν τὴν μερίδα αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσαν. τοτε Ἐλιοὺς ἐμπνευσθεὶς ἐν τῷ Σατανᾷ τὸ ἐξεῖπεν μοι λόγους φρασεὶς, οἵτινες ἀναγεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς παραλειπομέναις τοῦ Ἐλιφά.

Iob xxxviii. 1 XLII. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παυσασθαι αὐτὸν τῆς μεγαλορημοσύνης αὐτοῦ, ἀναφανεὶς μοι ὁ κυριος διὰ λαλαπος καὶ

Readings of P. 8, 9 παρεκάθησαν 12 Μεινατε 13, 14 καυχωμένου 16 ἑαυτὸν

Readings of M. 2 αὐτὴν *post* θάψαντες περὶ] ἐπὶ συμπεπτ.] συμπεπτωθεῖσαν 3, 4 καὶ κοπετὸν—λέγοντες] κ. ἐποί. οἱ πτ. τῆς πόλ. κοπ. μέγ. ἐπ' αὐτὴν λέγ. Σίτιδος] Σίτις 5 ἡ] ἧς γυνή] οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν γυνή ὅτι οὐ κατηξ.] κ. οὐκ ἠξ. 6 ἐπ' αὐτῇ] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 8 λοιποὶ μετὰ ταῦτα] μετ' αὐτοῦ θαμβηθέντες ἐπὶ τούτοις 9 μοι *post* ἀνταποκρ. 9—12 ὡς μετὰ—δείξω αὐτῷ] κατ' ἐμοῦ κξ̄ ἡμέρας φάσκοντες ὅτι δικαίως ταῦτα πέπονθα ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν πολλῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἀπελείφθη μοι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντεφιλονείκουν· καὶ ὀργισθέντες ἀπέστησαν πορευθῆναι μετὰ θυμοῦ· καὶ τότε Ἐλιὰς ὥρκωσεν αὐτοὺς μεῖναι μικρὸν ἕως καὶ περὶ τούτου δείξαι αὐτοῖς 13 τοῦ] τῷ 14 γάρ] δὲ 15 καὶ κλαυθμ.—αὐτῷ] κλαίων διετ. ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναμνησκ.] ἀναμιμνησκ. 16 εὐδαιμονίας] + αὐτοῦ 16, 17 om. καὶ ἐπο. ὕψωμα 17, 18 μεγαλως—λελάληκεν] μεγαλ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντα λέγει ἐλάλησε 20 οὐχ ὑπάρχ.] ἐν τίνι ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τῷ] ἀπὸ τοῦ 22 ταῖς παραλ.] τοῖς παραλειπομένοις 23, 24 om. τῆς μεγαλορ. αὐτοῦ

νεφῶν εἶπεν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐλιοὺς ἐμέμψατο, ὑποδείξας μοι τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ λαλήσαντα μὴ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ θηρίον· τοῦ δὲ κυρίου λαλήσαντός μοι διὰ τῆς νεφέλης, ἤκουον τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ λαλήσαντος καὶ οἱ τέσσαρες βασιλεῖς· καὶ μετὰ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν κύριον λαλοῦντά μοι εἶπεν πρὸς Ἐλιφάν· Τί ἤ, Ἐλιφά, ἥμαρτες σὺ καὶ οἱ δύο σου φίλοι· οὐ γὰρ λελαλήκατε ἀληθῶς κατὰ τοῦ θεράποντός μου Ἰώβ· διὸ ἀναστάντες ποιήσατε αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀναφέρειν θυσίας, ὅπως ἀφαιρεθῇ ἡ ἁμαρτία· εἰ μὴ γὰρ δι' αὐτόν, ἀπώλεσα ἂν ὑμᾶς. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ προσήνεγκάν μοι τὰ πρὸς θυσίαν· καὶ ἐγὼ λαβὼν ἀνήνεγκα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· καὶ ὁ κύριος προσδεξάμενος ἀφῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. Iob xlii. 7 Iob xlii. 8

XLIII. Τότε Ἐλιφὰς καὶ Βαλδὰδ καὶ Σοφὰρ γνόντες ὅτι ἐχαρίσατο αὐτοῖς ὁ κύριος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἐλιοὺς οὐ κατηξίωσεν, ἀναλαβὼν Ἐλιφὰς πνεῦμα εἶπεν ὕμνον, ἐπιφωνούντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου· ἔλεγεν οὕτως Ἐλιφάς. Iob xlii. 9

Περιῄρηνται ἡμῶν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, καὶ τέθαπται ἡμῶν ἡ ἀνομία· Ps. xxxi. 1

Ἐλιούς, Ἐλιοὺς ὁ μόνος πονηρὸς μνημόσυνον οὐχ ἕξει ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν, cf. Iob xxxviii. 18

καὶ ὁ λύχνος αὐτοῦ σβεσθεὶς ἠφάνισεν τὸ φέγγος αὐτοῦ, Iob xviii. 5, 6

ἡ δὲ τῆς λαμπάδος αὐτοῦ δόξα ἀποβήσεται αὐτῷ εἰς κρῖμα·

ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ σκότους καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦ φωτός· Io. iii. 19

οἱ δὲ θυρωροὶ τῆς σκοτείας κληρονομήσουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν· 2 Cor. vi. 14 1 Th. v. 5

ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ παρῆλθεν, σέσηπται αὐτοῦ ὁ θρόνος· Iob xxxviii. 17

Readings of P. 4 τεσσάρεις 13 γνώντες

Readings of M. 1 κ. τὸν μὲν Ἐλ. ἐμέμψ.] μεμφόμενος τὸν Ἐλ. καὶ 3, 4 *om.* τοῦ δὲ—βασιλεῖς 5, 6 εἶπεν πρὸς Ἐλ.] εἶπ. ὁ κύριος τῷ Ἐλιφάζ 6 *om.* Τί ἤ Ἐλ. *om.* δύο *post* σου *post* φίλοι 7 λελαλ. ἀληθῶς] ἐλαλήσατε ἀληθὲς 9 ἀφαιρεθῇ] ἀφεθῇ ἁμαρτία] + αὕτη 11 αὐτῶν] + τὴν θυσίαν 14 ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῶν] + διὰ τοῦ θεράποντος αὐτοῦ Ἰώβ 15 κατηξ.] + συγχωρήσεως *om.* πνεῦμα 16 *om.* φίλων 17 ἔλεγεν] καὶ ἔλ. 19 Περιῄρ.] περιῄρηται αἱ ἁμ.] ἡ ἁμαρτία τέθαπται] ἀπέστη 21 Ἐλιούς, Ἐλ.] Ἐλ. δὲ 27 ὅτι—σκότους] ὅτι υἱός ἐστιν τοῦ σκ.

καὶ ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ τυγχάνει·

Iob xx. 16 ἠγάπησεν τὸ τοῦ ὄφεως κάλλος, καὶ τὰς λεπίδας τοῦ δράκοντος,

Iob xx. 14 ἡ δὲ χολὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ἰὸς αὐτοῦ ἔσται εἰς βοράν· οὐκ ἐκτήσατο ἑαυτῷ τὸν κύριον οὐδὲ ἐφοβήθη αὐτόν,

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐντίμους αὐτοῦ παρώργησεν·

ἐπελάθετο αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος, καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἐγκατέλειψαν αὐτόν·

ἡ δὲ ὀργὴ καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἔσται αὐτῷ εἰς σκήνωμα.

οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεος ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ εἰρήνην ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ·

Iob xx. 14 ἰὸν ἀσπίδων ἔσχεν ἐν τῇ γλώττῃ αὐτοῦ.

Ps. cxxxix. 3 δίκαιός ἐστιν κύριος, ἀληθινὰ αὐτοῦ τὰ κρίματα, παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἔστιν προσωποληψία· κρινεῖ ἡμᾶς ὁμοθυμαδόν.

Ps. xviii. 10, etc. Rom. ii. 11 Eph. vi. 9 Col. iii. 25 Iob ix. 32 ἰδοὺ ὁ κύριος παρεγένετο· ἰδοὺ οἱ ἅγιοι ἡτοιμάσθησαν, προηγουμένων τῶν στεφάνων μετ' ἐγκωμίων·

Ps. cxlix. 5 χαιρέτωσαν οἱ ἅγιοι, ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν ἐν καρδίᾳ, ὅτι ἀπείληφαν τὴν δόξαν ἣν προσεδόκησαν.

ἦρται ἡ ἁμαρτία ἡμῶν, κεκαθάρισται ἡμῶν ἡ ἀνομία· ὁ δὲ πονηρὸς Ἐλιοὺς μνημόσυνον ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν οὐκ ἔσχεν.

XLIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι Ἐλιφὰν τοῦ ὕμνου, ὑποφωνούντων αὐτῷ πάντων καὶ κυκλούντων τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀναστάντες εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἣν νῦν

Iob xlii. 17 Ps. xxvi. 8 οἰκοῦμεν οἰκίαν· καὶ πεποιήκαμεν μεγάλας εὐωχίας ἐν τῇ τερπνότητι τοῦ κυρίου. πάλιν ἐπεζήτησα εὐεργεσίας ποιεῖν τοῖς πτωχοῖς, καὶ παρεγένοντο πρός με οἱ φίλοι μου καὶ

Readings of P. 5 βορράν 13 σώματι 16 ὁμοθυμαδὼν

Readings of M. 1 σκηνώματος] σχήματος 5 *om.* ἔσται 9 ἐγκατέλειψαν] -έλιπον 11 σκήν.] κένωμα 12, 13 *om.* ἐν τῷ σώμ. αὐτ. 14 ἀσπίδων] -δος 15 ἐστιν]+ὁ 16 κρινεῖ]+γὰρ 18 *om.* ὁ 19 μετ'] καὶ τῶν 20 ἐν καρδ.] al καρδίαι αὐτῶν 21 ἀπειληφαν] -φασιν 22 ἡ ἁμαρτ.] τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν (*pri.*)]+καὶ 23 μνημόσ. *post* ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν 25 τοῦ ὕμνου] τὸν ὕμνον 26 *om.* ὑποφων.—θυσιαστ. 27 *om.* νῦν 28 πεποιήκ.—εὐωχ.] πεποίηκάν μοι εὐωχίαν 29, 30 *om.* πάλιν—πτωχοῖς πρός με]+πάντες

ὅσοι ᾔδεισαν εὐποιεῖν, καὶ ἠρώτησάν με λέγοντες· Τί παρ' ἡμῶν νῦν αἰτεῖς; ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς τῶν πτωχῶν τοῦ πάλιν εὐποιεῖν ᾐτησάμην λέγων· Δότε μοι ἕκαστος ἀμνάδα μίαν εἰς ἔνδυσιν τῶν πτωχῶν τῶν ἐν γυμνώσει. καὶ τότε ἕκαστος προσήνεγκέν μοι ἀνὰ ἀμνάδα μίαν καὶ τετράδραχμον χρυσίου· καὶ ηὐλόγησεν κύριος πάντα ὅσα μοι ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ πεποίηκέν με εἶναι ἐν τῷ διπλῷ. Iob xlii. 11 Iob xlii. 9, 12

XLV. Καὶ νῦν, τέκνα μου, ἴδε ἐγὼ τελευτῶ· μόνον μὴ ἐπιλάθεσθε τοῦ κυρίου· εὐποιήσατε τοῖς πτωχοῖς, μὴ παρίδητε τοὺς ἀδυνάτους, μὴ λάβετε ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων· ἰδοὺ οὖν, τεκνία μου, διαμερίζω ὑμῖν πάντα ὅσα μοι ὑπάρχει, πρὸς τὸ δεσπόζειν ἕκαστος τοῦ μέρους ἀκωλύτως. Tobit iv. 12 Act. xxviii. 31

XLVI. Οἱ δὲ παρήνεγκαν τὰ ὄντα εἰς μερισμὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἄρρεσιν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων οὐ παρέσχετο ταῖς θηλείαις· αἱ δὲ λυπηθεῖσαι εἶπον τῷ πατρί· Κύριε πάτερ ἡμῶν, μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν τέκνα σου; διατί οὐκ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ὄντων σοι; εἶπεν δὲ Ἰὼβ ταῖς θηλείαις· Μὴ γὰρ ταράχθητε, θυγατέρες μου· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐπελαθόμην· ἤδη ὑμῖν ἔπεμψα κληρονομίαν κρείττονα τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν. τότε καλέσας τὴν Iob xlii. 15 cf. Heb. x. 34 1 Pet. i. 4

Readings of P. 5 ἀνὰ] ἀναι 9 ἐπιλαθέσθαι 18 ἐκ] ἐν

Readings of M. 1 ᾔδεισαν εὐποιεῖν] εἴδησάν με εὐ ποιοῦντα om. καὶ 2 αἰτεῖς] αἱ τρεῖς (sic) 2, 3 ἀναμν.—εὐποιεῖν] ὑπολαβὼν εὐποιεῖν πάλιν τοῖς πτωχοῖς Δότε] Δῶτε 4 γυμνώσει] + ὄντων 5 om. ἀναι 6 χρυσίου] + κ. ἀργυρίου 6, 7 καὶ ηὐλ.—διπλῷ] καὶ τότε ὁ κύριος ηὐλ. πάντα μοι ὅσα ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἐπλήθουν ἐξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀπό τε χρημάτων καὶ κτηνῶν κ. τῶν λοιπῶν ὧν ἀπώλεσα, ἀπέλαβον καὶ ἕτερα εἰς τὸ διπλοῦν· ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν καὶ ἐγέννησα ὑμᾶς τοὺς δέκα ἀντὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων μοι δέκα τέκνων. 8 ἴδε] ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν· ἰδοὺ τελευτῶ] + ὑμεῖς οὖν ἔσεσθε ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ 9 εὐποιήσατε] -σθε 10 παρίδητε] παρίδετε ἀδυνάτους] ἀδύτους 11 τεκνία] τέκνα διαμερίζω] -ιῶ 12 μοι post ὑπάρχει ἕκαστος] ἕκαστον, κ. ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἀγαθοποιῆσαι εἰς 13 μέρους] + αὐτοῦ 14, 15 Οἱ δὲ—παρέσχετο] Καὶ τοῦτο εἰπών, ἐνέγκας τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ πάντα, διεμέρισεν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἑπτὰ υἱοῖς τοῖς ἀρρενικοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων οὐ παρέσχε 16 αἱ δὲ λυπηθ.] καὶ πατρί] + αὐτῶν 18 διατί] διότι ἐν] ἐκ σοι] + κληρονομίαν 19 θηλείαις] θυγατράσιν αὐτοῦ 20 ὑμῶν post ἐπελαθ. 20, 21 ἤδη—ὑμῶν] ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐφύλαξα ὑμῖν κληρονομίαν κρείττονα αὐτῆς ἣν ἔλαβον οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί 21 τότε] καὶ

Iob xlii. 14
Lc. xi. 33
cf. *Apoc. Petri*

θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τὴν λεγομένην Ἡμέραν, λέγει αὐτῇ· Λαβοῦσα τὸ δακτύλιον ὕπαγε εἰς τὴν κρυπτὴν καὶ ἔνεγκε τὰ τρία σκευάρια τοῦ χρυσοῦ, ἵνα δῶ ὑμῖν τὴν κληρονομίαν. ἡ δὲ ἀπελθοῦσα ἤνεγκεν αὐτά· καὶ ἤνοιξεν καὶ ἀνήνεγκε τὰς τρεῖς χορδὰς τὰς ποικίλας ὡς μὴ δύνασθαί τινα ἄνθρωπον λαλῆσαι περὶ τῆς εἰδέας αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰσιν, ἐξαστράπτουσαι σπινθῆρας πυρός, ὡς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ ἡλίου· καὶ δέδωκεν χορδὴν μίαν, εἰπών· Λάβετε αὐτὰς περὶ τὸ στῆθος ὑμῶν, ἵνα ὑμῖν γένηται πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν.

XLVII. Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ἄλλη θυγατὴρ ἡ λεγομένη Κασία· Πάτερ, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ κληρονομία ἣν ἔλεγες εἶναι κρείττονα τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν; τίς οὖν χρεία τῶν περιττῶν χορδῶν τούτων; μὴ ἐκ τούτων ἔξομεν τοῦ ζῆν; καὶ εἶπεν αὐταῖς ὁ πατήρ· Οὐ μόνον ἐκ τούτου ἔξετε τοῦ ζῆν, ἀλλ᾽ αὗται αἱ χορδαὶ εἰσάξουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν μείζονα αἰῶνα, ζῆσαι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· ἀγνοεῖτε οὖν ὑμεῖς, τέκνα, τὴν τιμὴν τῶν σπάρτων τούτων; τούτων με κατηξίωσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἠβουλήθη με ἐλεῆσαι καὶ περιγραφῆναι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τὰς πληγὰς καὶ τοὺς σκώληκας· καλέσας με παρέσχετό μοι ταύτας τὰς τρεῖς χορδάς, λέγων μοι· Iob xxxviii. 3, xl. 2 Ἄναστα, ζώσαι ὥσπερ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀσφύν σου· ἐρωτήσω δέ σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκρίνου. ἐγὼ δὲ λαβὼν περιεζωσάμην· καὶ εὐθέως ἀφανεῖς ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ τότε οἱ σκώληκες ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματός μου, ὁμοίως καὶ αἱ πληγαί· καὶ λοιπὸν τὸ

Readings of P. 3 σκεύρια

Readings of M. 2 τὴν κρυπτὴν] τὸ ταμεῖον 3 τὰ—χρυσοῦ] μοι τὸ χρυσοῦν σκενεῖον δῶ] δύσω 4 ἡ δὲ] καὶ αὐτά] αὐτῷ 4, 5 καὶ ἤνοιξεν—ποικίλας] καὶ ἀνοίξας αὐτὸ ἐξήνεγκε τρία χορδῶν περιζώματα 6—8 ἐπεὶ—ἀκτῖνας] ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἦσαν ἔργον γήϊνον ἀλλ᾽ οὐράνιον, ἐξαστραπτούσαις σπινθήραις φωτιναῖς, ὡς ἀκτῖνες 9 μίαν]+ἑκάστῃ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ 9, 10 περὶ—ζωῆς ὑμῶν] καὶ περιζώσατε, ἵνα τὰς ἡμ. τῆς ζωῆς ὑμ. περιποιήσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐμπλήσωσι παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ 13, 14 τίς—χορδ. τούτων] τί οὖν; τοῦ ζῆν] τὸ ζῆν 15 πατήρ]+αὐτῶν 15, 16 ἔξ. τοῦ ζ.] τὸ ζῆν ἔξ. ἀλλ᾽ αὗται αἱ χ.] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὗται 17 ἀγνοεῖτε οὖν ὑμ.] ἢ ἀγνοῆτε τέκνα]+μου 18 σπάρτων] παρόντων τούτων (*sec.*)] ἧς 19 *om.* ἐν ἡμέρᾳ—με (*pri.*) με *post* ἐλεῆσαι περιγραφῆναι] περιαρθῆναι 20 καλέσας] καὶ γὰρ καλ. 21 παρέσχετο] παρέθετο ταύτας *post* τρεῖς 22 Ἄναστα] στὰς 23 ἀποκρίνου] -κρίθητι 24 *om.* ἀπὸ τότε 25 ὁμοίως]+δὲ

σῶμά μου ἐνίσχυσεν διὰ κυρίου ὡς οὐδὲν ὅλως πεπονθός· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν καρδίᾳ ὀδυνῶν λήθην ἔσχον· ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐλάλησέν μοι ἐν δυνάμει, ὑποδείξας μοι τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα. νῦν οὖν, τεκνία μου, ἔχουσαι ταύτας οὐκ ἔξετε ὅλως ἀντιτασσόμενον τὸν ἐχθρόν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ὑμῶν· διότι φυλακτήριόν ἐστιν τοῦ πατρός· ἐξεγερθεῖσαι οὖν περιζώσασθε αὐτὰς πρὶν τελευτήσω, ἵνα δυνηθῆτε θεάσασθαι τοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν, ἵνα θαυμάσητε τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κτίσματα. Lc. x. 19

XLVIII. Οὕτως ἀναστᾶσα τοίνυν ἡ μία ἡ καλουμενη Ἡμέρα περιείληξεν τὴν ἑαυτῆς σπάρτην καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ· καὶ ἀνέλαβεν ἄλλην καρδίαν, μηκέτι τὰ τῆς γῆς φρονεῖν, ἀπεφθέγξατο δὲ τῇ ἀγγελικῇ διαλέκτῳ, ὕμνον ἀναπέμψασα τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ὑμνολογίαν· καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους οὓς ἀπεφθέγξατο εἴασεν τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν στολῇ τῇ ἑαυτῆς ἐγκεχαραγμένους. Phil. iii. 9 Col. iii. 2

XLIX. Καὶ τότε ἡ Κασία περιεζώσατο, καὶ ἔσχεν τὴν καρδίαν ἀλλοιωθεῖσαν, ὡς μηκέτι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰ κοσμικά· καὶ τὸ μὲν στόμα αὐτῆς ἀνέλαβεν τὴν διάλεκτον τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐδοξολόγησεν δὲ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ τόπου τὸ ποίημα. διότι εἴ τις βούλεται γνῶναι τὸ ποίημα τῶν οὐρανῶν, δυνήσεται εὑρεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις Κασίας.

L. Τότε περιεζώσατο καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἡ καλουμένη Ἀμαλθείας κέρας· καὶ ἔσχεν τὸ στόμα ἀποφθεγγόμενον ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν ἐν ὕψει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτῆς ἡ καρδία ἠλλοι- cf. Lc. ix. 31

Readings of P. 1 πεπονθὼς 2 ὠδυνῶν 4 ἕξεται 7 περιζώσασθαι 9 θαυμάσηται

Readings of M. 1 ἐνίσχυσεν] ἴσχυεν ὡς—πεπονθός] καὶ οὕτως διῆγον ὥσπερ ὅτε οὐδ' ὅλως πέπονθά τι 2 καρδίᾳ] τῇ κ. μου 3 ἐλάλ.] λελάληκεν ὑποδείξας] καὶ ὑποδ. 4 τεκνία] τέκνα ταύτας] αὐτὰς 5 οὐδὲ] οὔτε 6 *om.* αὐτοῦ 7 πατρός] κυρίου περιζώσασθε αὐτὰς] περιζώσατε ἑαυτὰς 8, 9 τοὺς ἐρχομ.—ψυχήν] τοὺς ἐξερχομ. ἀγγέλους εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον 9 ἵνα] ὅπως τὰ—κτίσμ.] τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεις. 10 *om.* Οὕτως μία] + αὐτῶν 11 περιείλ.—σπάρτην] περιέζωσεν ἑαυτὴν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔξω γέγονεν τῆς ἑαυτῆς σαρκὸς 12 πατήρ] + αὐτῆς μηκέτι] ὡς μηκ. 13 φρονεῖν *post* μηκ. *om.* δὲ 13, 14 τῇ ἀγγελ.—ἀναπεμψ.] τοὺς ἀγγελικοὺς ὕμνους ἐν ἀγγελικῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ὕμνον ἀνέμελπε 14—16 *om.* κ. τοὺς ὕμν.—ἐγκεχαραγμ. 17 τότε] + κ. ἄλλη αὐτοῦ θυγατὴρ 18 ἐνθυμεῖσθαι] -ηθῆναι 20 ἀρχῶν] ἀρχόντων 22 εὑρεῖν] ἐννοεῖν 24 *om.* τὸ

οὗτο, ἀφισταμένη ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμικῶν· λελάληκεν γὰρ ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν Χερουβίμ, δοξολογοῦσα τὸν δεσπότην τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐνδειξαμένη τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν· καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος λοιπὸν ἴχνος [ἡμέρας] καταλαβεῖν τῆς πατρικῆς δόξης εὑρήσει ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρας.

LI. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι τὰς τρεῖς ὑμνολογούσας, ἐπικειμένου τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἐμοῦ Νηρείου, ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Ἰώβ, ἐπικειμένου δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐκαθεζόμην πλησίον τοῦ Ἰὼβ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης μου, ἤκουσα ἐγὼ τὰ μεγαλεῖα, μιᾶς ὑποσημειουμένης τῇ μιᾷ· καὶ ἀνεγραψάμην τὸ βιβλίον ὅλον πλείστων σημειώσεων τῶν ὕμνων παρὰ τῶν τριῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου, σωτήριον ταῦτα εἶναι, ὅτι ταὐτά ἐστιν τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ.

LII. Καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ποιουμένου τοῦ Ἰὼβ νοσεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, ἄνευ πόνου μέντοι καὶ ὀδύνης, ἐπεὶ μηκέτι πόνος ἴσχυεν ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ σημεῖον τῆς περιζώσεως ἧς περιεζώσατο· καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας εἶδεν τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ εὐθέως ἀναστὰς ἔλαβεν κιθάραν, καὶ ἔδωκεν τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἡμέρᾳ· τῇ δὲ Κασίᾳ ἔδωκεν θυμιατήριον, τῇ δὲ Ἀμαλθείας κέρας ἔδωκεν τύμπανον, ὅπως εὐλογήσωσιν τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ· αἱ δὲ λαβοῦσαι εἶδον τὰ φωτεινὰ ἅρματα τὰ ἐλθόντα ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ηὐλόγησαν καὶ ἐδόξασαν, ἑκάστη ἐν τῇ ἐξαιρέτῳ διαλέκτῳ. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθεν ὁ ἐπικαθήμενος τῷ μεγάλῳ ἅρματι, καὶ ἡσπάσατο τὸν Ἰώβ, βλεπουσῶν τῶν τριῶν θυγατέρων

Readings of P. 17 κλήνης

Readings of M. 1 γὰρ] δὲ 4 *om.* ἡμέρας 5 ἀναγεγραμμένα] -ον 8 *om.* ἐπικ. τοῦ κυρίου 8, 9 καὶ ἐμοῦ—Ἰώβ] ἐγὼ Νηρεὸς ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώβ 9, 10 *om.* ἐπικ.—πνεύμ. ἐπὶ τ. κλιν. 10 μου] κειμένου αὐτοῦ, καὶ 11 *om.* ἐγὼ μεγαλεῖα] + τῶν τριῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου ὑποσημ.] ὑποσιωπωμένης 12—14 ὅλον—εἶναι] τοῦτο, πλὴν τῶν ὕμνων κ. τῶν σημείων τοῦ ῥήματος 16 Καὶ μετὰ—ποιουμένου] κειμένου οὖν 17 μέντοι καὶ ὀδ.] καὶ ὠδυνῶν 18 μηκέτι] μὴ πόνος post ἴσχυεν αὐτοῦ] + ἔτι 19 εἶδεν] ἴδεν Ἰὼβ 20 ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ] + ἁγίους ἀγγέλους 24, 25 εἶδον—ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ] ἤδοντο κ. ἔψαλλον 26 ἐδόξασαν] ἐδοξολόγησαν τὸν θεὸν *om.* ἑκάστη

καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς βλέποντος, ἄλλων δὲ τινῶν μὴ βλεπόντων· λαβὼν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνεπετάσθη ἐναγκαλισαμένος αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ ὤδευσεν ἐπὶ ἀνατολάς· τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ περισταλὲν ἀπηνέχθη εἰς τὸν τάφον προηγουμένων τῶν τριῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῶν καὶ περιεζωσμένων καὶ ὑμνολογουσῶν ἐν ὕμνοις τοῦ πατρός.

LIII. Καὶ ἐγὼ Νηρεὺς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ τέκνων τῶν ἀρρενικῶν, σὺν τοῖς πένησιν καὶ ὀρφανοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις κλαίουσιν καὶ λέγουσιν· Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν σήμερον, διπλῶς τὸ οὐαί, ὅτι σήμερον ἦρται ἡ δύναμις τῶν ἀδυνάτων, ἦρται τὸ φῶς τῶν τυφλῶν, ἦρται ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὀρφανῶν, ἦρται ὁ τῶν ξένων ξενοδόχος, ἦρται ἡ ἔνδυσις τῶν χηρῶν· τίς λοιπὸν οὐ κλαύσει ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ; ἅμα τε ἤνεγκαν τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὸν τάφον, περιεκύκλωσαν πᾶσαι αἱ χῆραι καὶ ὀρφανοὶ κωλύοντες μὴ εἰσαχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ· καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐνέθεντο αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τάφον ἐν καλῷ ὕπνῳ, λαβόντα ὄνομα ὀνομαστὸν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς τοῦ αἰῶνος. ἀμήν. Iob xxix. 15, 16

Readings of P. 2, 3 ἐναγκαλισμένος ὄδευσεν

Readings of M. 1 *om.* καὶ αὐτοῦ—βλέποντος *om.* τινῶν 2 λαβὼν —ψυχὴν] κ. ἔλαβεν τὴν ψ. τοῦ Ἰὼβ καὶ 2, 3 ἐναγκαλισμ.] ἐπαναγκαλιζόμενος 4 ἐπὶ] κατὰ *om.* περισταλὲν εἰς] ἐπὶ 6 περιεζωσμ.]+τὰς χορδὰς τοῦ πατρός] τὸν θεόν 7 Καὶ ἐγὼ] καὶ τότε 7, 8 μετὰ—ἀρρενικῶν] καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ παῖδες αὐτοῦ 8, 9 πένησιν καὶ—ἀδυνάτοις] λοιποῖς λαοῖς κ. πτωχοῖς κ. ὀρφ. κ. ἀδυν. κλαίουσιν κ. λέγουσιν] ἐκόψαντο κοπετὸν μέγαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν λέγοντες 10 *om.* σήμερον—οὐαί ἦρται] ἤρθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν 11, 12 *om.* ἦρται (*sec. tert. quart.*) 12 *om.* τῶν ξένων 12, 13 ἦρται (*sec.*)—χηρῶν] τῶν πεπλανημένων ἡ ὁδός, τῶν γυμνῶν τὸ σκέπασμα, τῶν χηρῶν ὁ ὑπερασπιστής 13 οὐ κλαύσει ἐπὶ] μὴ κλαύσοιε 14—16 ἅμα τε—τάφῳ] ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποκλαιόντων, ἐκώλυον αὐτὸν τεθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον καὶ μετὰ] μετὰ οὖν 17, 18 ἐνέθεντο—τάφον] ἐτέθη εἰς τὸν τάφον ὡς λαβόντα (*sic*) ὄνομα]+ καλὸν 19 *om.* ἀμήν.

Addit M. καταλείψας υἱοὺς ζ' καὶ θυγατέρας τρεῖς· καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθησαν κατὰ τὰς θυγατέρας Ἰὼβ βελτίους αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ. προυκῆρχε ὄνομα τῷ Ἰὼβ Ἰωβάβ· μετωνομάσθη δὲ παρὰ κυρίου Ἰώβ. ἤζησε δὲ πρὶν τῆς πληγῆς ἔτη $\overline{\pi\varepsilon}$· μετὰ δὲ τὴν πληγὴν λαβὼν πάντα διπλᾶ, ἔλαβε καὶ τὰ ἔτη διπλᾶ, τουτέστιν $\overline{\rho o}$. τὰ δὲ πάντα ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ $\overline{\sigma\mu\eta}$. καὶ ἴδεν υἱοὺς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἕως τετάρτης γενεᾶς. γέγραπται καὶ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν μεθ' ὧν ὁ κύριος ἀνέστησε. τῷ δὲ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἴη δόξα. Iob xlii. 16, 17*a*, 17 *b*

CORRECTIONS AND NOTES TO THE FIRST SERIES OF *APOCRYPHA ANECDOTA*.

In reading over the first series of *Apocrypha Anecdota* I have come across a good many mistakes of various kinds in the texts. For these my writing and my proof-correcting, which are neither of them good, are mainly to blame. I can only apologise and represent to my critics that proof-correcting is a trade not learnt all at once, and that a collection of rather crabbed texts affords exceptional opportunities for going wrong. Fortunately, the mistakes, vexatious as they are, are not of capital importance.

Reviewers have in several cases helped me with suggestions, which I will notice where notice seems to be required.

Visio Pauli.

Page	Line	*For*	*Read*
14	14	sed inopes (Cod.)	semed (=semet) inopes (*Guardian*, June 13, 1894)
21	13	innocenciam corporum (Cod.)	innoc. et cor purum (*ibid.*)
26	17	ab orae (Cod.)	a borea (*ibid.*)
	35	uiros (Cod.)	muros (*ibid.*)
29	21	si forte (Cod.)	si fortis
36	27	nasum (Cod.)	nasci (*Guardian*)
38	14	obuiam eius ueni es (Cod.)	obuiam eis ueniens (*ibid.*)
41	16	uos	nos (*ibid.*)

See further an elaborate article chiefly on the Latinity of the *Visio Pauli*, contributed by Professor J. E. B. Mayor to the *Journal of Philology* for 1894.

Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae.

A careful examination of my transcript from the MS. has revealed to me a number of errors in my printed text. In several instances words have fallen out, and in one case a whole phrase (by *homoeoteleuton*). The mistakes have all crept in in the process of making a fair copy of my transcript for the press.

Page	Line	*For*	*Read*
58	16	οὐδαμῶς	οὐδ' ὅλως
59	4	ἤ τίς ἡ	ἤ τί αὐτοῦ ἡ
61	32	ἔθηκεν	ἐνέθηκεν
64	17	λέγω σοι	*om.* σοι
	25	γίνεσθαι	γενέσθαι
65	33	μητρὸς	μήτρας
66	2	ὕπνῳ (*from* ὕπνον *in same line*)	πόθῳ
	28	θεοῦ	κυρίου
67	3	ἀπέλθω	θαρροῦσα ἀπ.
	21	πολυπλασίως,	*dele comma*
68	6	ἐκεῖνος	ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν
69	37	σοφίας	*sequitur spatium quinque litterarum in codice.*
70	32	ἐκείνου	ἐκεῖνοι
71	8	μεθ' ἡμῶν	παρ' ἡμῖν
	30	τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν	*om.* τῶν
72	35	τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντος	ἀγνοοῦντας
73	14	αὐτὸν	+καὶ
	27	τούτου χανότου	τούτοῦ χανοτου *Cod.*
74	21	τῇ Ξανθίππῃ	τῆς Ξανθίππης
	24, 26	αὐτὴ	αὕτη
	35	Δεξιὰ	τὰ Δεξιὰ
76	9	ἡ	Ἡ
	36	οὐδὲ	οὔτε
77	2	εἴδωλα	τὰ εἴδωλα
	10	ἀνάληψιν	ἀντίληψιν
	20	προῆλθον	*Cod.* προηχθον (*l.* προήχθην)
79	33		*om.* τοῦ
80	8	Δεῦρο	+καὶ
	9	Καὶ	Ναὶ
82	19	πρεσβῦτις	πρεσβύτις
	35, 36	οἱ δὲ	καὶ οἱ

Page	Line	*For*	*Read*
83	6	*νυμφίος φθορᾶς*	*add. ἀλλὰ ζητῶ προσαρμοσθῆναί σοι εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιθυμία φθορᾶς*
84	5	*ἄνθρωπος*	*+πρὸς ὑμᾶς*
	17, 18	*ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος*	*ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ*
	24	*γέγονεν*	*γέγονε*
85	10	*θλιβῆναι ἡμᾶς*	*ἡμᾶς θλιβῆναι*
	21	*κλαπήσεται*	*κλαπῇ*

In the *Classical Review* (1894, pp. 336—341) will be found an article by M. Max Bonnet on the text of these Acts. It is full of most valuable suggestions as to the accentuation, punctuation, and general treatment of late Greek texts, which I will not reproduce in this place. There are also several emendations, viz.:

Page Line

61 24 *αἰτίας.* *Read* *αἰκίας.*

69 30 *Γνωστέα.* *Read* *Γνωστέαν.*

71 37 *καταγεῖναι.* *Read* *καταμιγῆναι.* I should myself prefer *καταταγῆναι*, but the passage from *Acta Thomae* (p. 81, l. 13), cited by M. Bonnet, favours his suggestion.

73 27 *Ὦ βία· ἀπὸ τούτου χανότου καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τύπτειν ἡμᾶς.* *Read* *Ὦ βία ἀπὸ τοῦ κογχοστάτου· καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες κ.τ.λ.*, comparing, for the phrase *ὦ βία ἀπό*, H. Usener, *Legenden der Pelagia*, p. 44. This is excellent.

28 *ἐδείμασεν.* *Read* *ἐδειλίασεν* (ΔΕΙΜΑ : ΔΕΙΛΙΑ). [The confusion between *μ* and *λι* might also very well arise in early minuscule writing.]

75 2 *καὶ δὲ φθασάντων αὐτῶν τὸν αἰγιαλόν.* *Read* *καὶ δὴ φθ. αὐτ. ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγ.*

83 23 *βαλοῦσά μου τὸ σχῆμα.* *Read* *λαβοῦσά κ.τ.λ.*

33 *Ὄντως εἶ, καὶ μόνος ἐστὶ θεός.* *Read* *Ὄντως εἶ καὶ μόνος θεός.*

The Story of Zosimus.

Vassiliev has printed a text of this book in his *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, I. p. 160 (Moscow, 1893), from Cod. Mosquensis 3 (of cent. xiii), with various readings from Codd. Mosqq. 351 (cent. xv) and 290 (cent. xvi). He also mentions a Cod. Taurinensis 148 (b. ii. 1) of cent. xv. There is a copy in Cod. Athen. 355, and

another in Brit. Mus. Add. 10,073, which latter seems to be an expanded text. I will here note a few of Vassiliev's readings.

Page	Line		*Vass.*
97	15	Εὐμέλης	Εὔμηλος
102	22	ὀνήθη (ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν)	ἠδύνθη (*v. l.* ᾠδυνήθη)
103	8	ἔθετο ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ	ἔθετο ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀέρα καὶ ἤγαγεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ
	18	εὐσεβεῖς	ἀναμάρτητοι
	26, 27	οὔτε εἰσὶν ἐξ ἡμῶν	εἰσὶ δέ τινες ἐξ ἡμῶν
	35	φύλλα τῶν δένδρων	*add.* μεγάλα ὡσὰν τῶν ὑφαίνοντων (*vv. ll.* φαινόντων, ὑφανόντων), ταχὺ μὴ διαφθειρόμενοι
105	14	πορευόμεθα μετ' αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἰδόντες	πορευόμεθα πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κ. οἱ πρεσβ. ἰδόντες
108	14	Ἐγὼ δὲ †Κρύσεως†, εἷς ὢν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ	Ἐγὼ δέ, ἀγαπητοί, ἐκ τῆς βρώσεως τῆς ἐρήμου.

In Dr Budge's last volume on the Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great is a very welcome translation of the Ethiopic Legend of Gerasimus, which is noticed in my Introduction to Zosimus.

The Apocalypse of the Virgin.

Vassiliev has printed a text of this in the volume referred to (p. 125) from Cod. Casanatensis (at Rome), G. vi. 7 of cent. xvi, with various readings from Cod. Vindob. theol. 333 (Lamb. 337) of cent. xii, as printed in the *Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Letters* at St Petersburg (1863, vol. x. 5, pp. 552—578). He refers to a discussion of it by Gidel (*Nouvelles études sur la littérature grecque moderne*, 1878, 313—330).

The Rev. H. A. Brightman, of Pusey House, Oxford, has also kindly presented me with a chap-book edition of the apocalypse in Modern Greek, printed at Athens in 1892. This ends with a short vision of Paradise.

Vassiliev's text is on the whole shorter and more modern than mine. On p. 121 (*Apocr. Anecd.*), l. 6, I would read with him (ποιῶν) τὴν διάταξιν for κατὰ τὰ ἄξια.

After c. xxx. his text adds a short and meagre vision of Paradise, and a notice of the death and assumption of the Virgin.

The Apocalypse of Sedrach.

In the Introduction (p. 129) *for* G. F. Warner *read* H. L. D. Ward.

Latin fragment on Antichrist.

p. 151, 2nd line from bottom, after *Syriace* insert 'pp.

p. 153 for minged *read* mingled

The Prayer of Moses.

p. 172, compleuit. *Read* 'complebit' with Hilgenfeld (*Berlin. Philol. Wochenschrift*, 7 July 1894, p. 876). The same critic proposes an explanation of the corrupt line 'Istic mel, apex magnus: momenti plenitudo, et ciati guttum,' which I will transcribe:

'Ενθάδε μέλισσα, τιάρα μεγάλη· ῥοπῆς πλήρωμα καὶ κυάθου σταγών, καὶ πάντα πληρώσει ὁ χρόνος. "Da ist eine Priesterin (wie zu Delphi), ein priesterliches Barett, Augenblickes Erfüllung und Spitzglases Tropfen." Das Orakel hat den Sinn: was schliesslich eines Augenblickes Erfüllung ist, wird tropfenweise vorbereitet. Alles ist hier priesterlich. Da *μέλισσα* bei Dichtern auch 'Honig' heisst, konnte es mit 'mel' übersetzt werden. Den priesterlichen 'apex' bezeugt Seneca bei Lact. *Div. Inst.* vi. 17, 28, das Spitzglas zum Opfern (Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 38 (73): guttum faginum, quo sacrificaret).

The rendering of *μέλισσα* by *mel* is very far-fetched; and it is most unlikely, surely, that the writer of this fragment would have known that the Delphian priestess was called *μέλισσα*, or that knowing it, he would have used *μέλισσα* as a synonym for any sort of priestess. I should at least have expected 'apex' to be changed into 'apis' and thus brought into line with 'mel.' But as at present advised I prefer my own restoration.

It now seems probable to me that the second 'in gloria' is a mistaken repetition of the first, and should be excised.

The Song of David.

p. 184, ll. 8, 9 si comminus memorarer artare in quo ambulas. The writer in the *Guardian* (June 13, 1894) suggests, what I gratefully accept for the last words,

"memorare tartari in quo ambulas."

He has since privately suggested to me that the first two words, for which he had conjectured "sin minus," are really "si quominus": and he furnishes me with many instances of the occurrence of this phrase as the translation of εἰ δὲ μὴ or εἰ δὲ μήγε in "the oldest forms of the Old Latin," e.g. Mt. vi. 1; ix. 17 by *k*: Lc. v. 36, 37; x. 6; xiii. 9 by *d e*, and xiv. 32 by *d*: Jo. xiv. 2 by *b d e* vulg.; xiv. 11 by *e m* Tert.: Apoc. ii. 5 by Ps. Cypr. ad Novatianum: also in Irenaeus' Latin ii. 32. 1. "Possibly" he adds "the idiom goes a little way to suggesting a quite early date for the song."

This emendation is most satisfactory. The author of it is Mr C. H. Turner of Magdalen College, Oxford.

ll. 11, 12 de resultatione in chaoma tonata est uestra creatura. Hilgenfeld (*ubi supra*) suggests "in chasma tonata" here, and, as the Greek equivalent, *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ χάει ἠχοῦς*.

A very apt illustration of the idea is to be found in the text from the Leyden Papyrus (J. 395) which Dieterichs has edited in his excellent book *Abraxas* (pp. 17 sqq.):

καὶ ἐγέλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἑπτάκις'...γελάσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν θεοὶ ἑπτά.

...ἐσύρισε μέγα καὶ ἡ γῆ ἠνοίγη λαβοῦσα τὸν ἦχον καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἴδιον ζῷον δράκοντα Πύθιον.

...ἐγεννήθη ἐκ τοῦ ἤχους μέγας θεός.

In the Additional Notes.

Page	Line	*For*	*Read*
187	14		
	15	printed	pointed

LEUCIUS AND THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

In dealing with the fragment of the Acts of John I have not in any way studied completeness. I am not qualified to write a full Commentary on it, and it would be useless to try and do so before the whole of the extant fragments are in print. But since I wrote my introductory notes to the fragment, a book has appeared which deals at some length with the Leucian Acts of John; and, as it happens, our fragment affects very materially the position which the author there tries to establish. So I must spend a little time in the consideration of it.

The book in question is a recent number of the *Texte und Untersuchungen* (xv. 1), namely, Herr P. Corssen's *Monarchianische Prologe zu den Vier Evangelien*. A not inconsiderable space is devoted to establishing the positions: first, that though the ancient Latin prologue to St John's Gospel, with which the author is dealing, drew certain particulars concerning St John's life from the Leucian Acts (namely the story of his virginity and of his death), it did not derive the particulars of the composition of the Gospel from those Acts: and secondly, that Leucius, the author of the Acts, did not know the Fourth Gospel at all.

The second thesis raises a highly important question, and one which I had myself regarded as no longer open to discussion (for Lipsius and Zahn were agreed that the use of the Gospel by Leucius was proved), and therefore I had not thought it necessary to say anything about the matter. Now, however, it becomes desirable to examine our new fragment with the view of ascertaining whether Herr Corssen's theory is borne out by it or not.

The following expressions seem to me to indicate unmistakably that Leucius knew and used the Gospel of St John[1]:

1	I.	*οὔτε γράψαι χωρῶ ἃ τε εἶδον ἃ τε ἤκουσα* The same idea recurs in the Acts of Peter by Leucius (see p. 153).	John xxi. 25 *ἅτινα ἐὰν γράφηται καθ' ἕν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρήσειν τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία*
2	II.	*τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο <τὸ> ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ καλέσαν ἡμᾶς*	xxi. 4 *ἔστη Ἰησοῦς εἰς* (v. l. *ἐπὶ*) *τὸν αἰγιαλόν*
3		*οὕτως εἰς γῆν τὸ πλοῖον ἀγαγόντες*	vi. 21 *ἐγένετο τὸ πλοῖον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς ἣν ὑπῆγον*
4		*ἀνακείμενον ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια στήθη ἐδέχετο*	xiii. 23 *ἦν ἀνακείμενος εἷς ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* 25 *ἀναπεσὼν ἐκεῖνος οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* Also xxi. 20.
5	IV.	*Ἰωάννη, μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος, ἀλλὰ πιστός*	xx. 27 *μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλα πιστός*
6	V.	*Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος...διανευόμενοί μοι* (cf. II. *τὸ νεῦον ἡμῖν*)	xiii. 24 *νεύει οὖν τούτῳ Σίμων Πέτρος*
7	VIII.	*ἐκ τοῦ βραχέος ἕκαστος ἐχορτάζετο*	vi. 7 *ἵνα ἕκαστος βραχὺ λάβῃ*
8	XI.	(p. 14, l. 1) *Ἴδε σεαυτὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ λαλοῦντι*	xvii. 21 *σὺ ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν σοί,... αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν*
9		l. 5 *...λόγος ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐστάλην*	xvi. 28 *ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ πατρός*
10		l. 10 *τίς εἰμι ἐγώ; γνώσῃ ὅταν ἀπέλθω*	xiii. 7 *ὃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ σὺ οὐκ οἶδας ἄρτι, γνώσῃ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα*
11		l. 15 *ὃ σὺ μὴ οἶδας, αὐτός σε διδάξω*	xvi. 7 *συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα ἐγὼ ἀπέλθω*
12	XIV.	*ὅταν δὲ ἀναληφθῇ <ἡ> ἄνω φύσις καὶ γένος προσχωροῦν ἐπ' ἐμέ, φωνῇ τῇ ἐμῇ πειθόμενον*	x. 16 *κἀκεῖνα δεῖ με ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούσουσιν*
13		*γίνωσκε γάρ με ὅλον παρὰ τῷ πατρί, καὶ τὸν πατέρα παρ' ἐμοί.* cf. *Acta Petri*, p. 67.	xiv. 10 *οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν;* Also *v.* 11.
14	XV.	*νυγέντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπλήγην'...αἷμα ἐξ ἐμοῦ ῥεύσαντα, καὶ οὐκ ἔρευσεν.*	xix. 34 *λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.*

[1] I have not included in my survey the passages known to Zahn and dealt with by him in his *Acta Joannis*.

Leaving for the present the consideration of these passages, let us see what Herr Corssen has to say in defence of his theory. He finds it interesting to observe, in the controversy between Lipsius and Zahn concerning the Acts of John, how, consciously or unconsciously, the one (Zahn) tries to assign as early a date as possible to Leucius in order to obtain a witness to the Gospel of John, while the other (Lipsius) puts him as late as he can in order to deprive his evidence of its value. "I," says Herr Corssen, "am of opinion that Zahn is much nearer to the true date of Leucius than Lipsius, and that for that very reason Leucius cannot serve as a witness to the Gospel" (p. 118).

In the pages that follow, Herr Corssen quotes some of the more striking parallels with the Gospel, which Zahn had adduced, and in particular, the list of names applied to the Lord by Himself (see p. 18, ll. 5—9, of this volume). He allows them to be striking; but, he says, the expressions themselves are not necessarily to be traced to the Gospel of St John, inasmuch as they are mingled with others of like nature, which do not occur there, while those that do so occur are either used elsewhere in the same sense, independently of John, or easily might be so used. For example, Christ says in John x. 9 *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα*. In Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 12. 6 we have *ἡ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστί*: and this cannot be a case of borrowing from John, because the thought (in Hermas) springs naturally out of the connexion 'Christ is the Door of the house which represents the Church,' while in the Gospel the comparison is quite unexpected, and is also forced (p. 122). But, he goes on, the chief stress must be laid upon the totally different application of the epithets. In Leucius they are all transferred from Christ to the Cross of Light: and this is the direct representation of the Divine Being.

Herr Corssen's great difficulty throughout is to understand how Leucius could have attributed to St John the views which he does attribute to him—diametrically opposed as they are to the Johannine writings—if those writings already existed and he had read them. How, for instance, in the face of the passage 1 John i. 1 ("our hands have handled") could Leucius make John say that he had handled the Lord's body and had sometimes found it solid and material and at other times impalpable? We

have to choose, he says, between these two positions: either Leucius purposely ignored the Epistle of John, or he did not know it: in no case can he have meant that *his* John should be taken to be the same as the man who wrote the Epistle (p. 125). It will not be out of place, in view of this remark, to put on record a few allusions to the First Epistle of John which I seem to find in our fragment:

I.	ἃ τε εἶδον ἃ τε ἤκουσα	1 John i. 1 ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὃ ἑωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.
II.	ποτὲ μέν μοι λεῖα καὶ ἁπαλὰ τὰ στήθη αὐτοῦ ἐψηλαφᾶτο	i. 1 αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν.
VII.	ψηλαφῶντός μου αὐτόν, ἄϋλον ἦν	
XI.	φῶς ἐν ᾧ σκότος οὐκ οἰκεῖ	i. 5 ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶν καὶ σκοτία οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμία.
	(p. 14, l. 6) ἐπὸ πατρὸς ἐσταλην	iv. 14 ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν υἱόν.
XVII.	προσκυνῶμεν αὐτῷ...μηδὲ στόμασιν, μηδὲ γλώσσῃ (cf. *Acta Petri*, p. 96)	cf. iii. 18 μὴ ἀγαπῶμεν λόγῳ μηδὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ
	ὡς πάντῃ ὢν πάντων ἡμῶν ἀκούει	v. 14 ἐάν τι αἰτώμεθα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἀκούει ἡμῶν (cf. Joh. xi. 41 ἤδειν ὅτι πάντοτέ μου ἀκούεις).

Herr Corssen goes on (p. 125) to say that in no point is the contradiction between Gospel and Acts greater than in the narrative of the Passion. When he comes to details he speaks first of the phrase in xii. τὸ Ἄρον ἐβοᾶτο. But this I cannot accept as a possible reading. It is only found as a correction in one MS., and in the Latin version. So too his next point, that the crucifixion in Leucius follows immediately upon the trial (so as to recall the Gospel of Peter), falls to the ground. A further contradiction lies in the words of our Lord, "unto the multitude down below *in Jerusalem* I am being crucified": whereas the Gospel places the crucifixion on Golgotha, outside the city. Again, the darkness begins apparently at the moment of crucifixion. And the mention of the sixth hour, emphasised by Zahn, will not avail, because in the Gospel that is represented as the time not of crucifying but of condemnation.

Then we have the phrase *σταυροῦμαι, καὶ λόγχαις νύσσομαι καὶ καλάμοις, καὶ ὄξος τε καὶ χολὴν ποτίζομαι.* Zahn puts a comma after *νύσσομαι*, which Herr Corssen says (and I agree) is wrong. He points out, further, a couple of coincidences in this with the Gospel of Peter, which says in the account of the mocking *ἕτεροι καλάμῳ ἔνυσσον αὐτόν*, and later on *ποτίσατε αὐτὸν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους*. The phrase in the Acts, he says, does not refer at all to the piercing of the side on the Cross, but to a previous striking of the crucified Christ with spears and reeds, to which he finds an allusion in the tract *de montibus Sina et Sion*[1].

But the principal point of all is this: in the Acts the Lord is quite untouched by the crucifying, and John is not present at it: in the Gospel the Lord really suffers and dies, and John is made to bear witness to this. And in the presence of Christ's Mother and in the piercing of the side we have a sharp protest, put into the mouth of the Apostle John, against that very teaching which the same Apostle produces in the Acts. And while the Gospel is directed against the teaching which we find in the Acts, the latter tell their story without betraying the least consciousness of a representation which is diametrically opposed to them.

Hence it is not doubtful to Herr Corssen that the author of the Gospel, if he had not before him the actual work of Leucius, had at least the tradition, which even Leucius did not create but found in existence and only dressed up.

I have, I hope, given all the points on which Herr Corssen lays stress in his argument. Incidentally he has some interesting remarks upon the Christology of Leucius: but these do not really affect the documentary relations between the Acts and the Gospel.

It is difficult to know where to begin in criticising a theory which seems so untenable in the light of the fresh evidence we now have. I would leave the parallels with the Gospel to speak for themselves, were it not that I think some points may be usefully noted.

My parallels are not all equally striking: but I cannot help thinking that to an unprejudiced mind those which I have

[1] See a note at the end of this essay.

numbered 4 and 5, standing as they do in the near neighbourhood of a number of others, ought to be sufficient to establish once and for all the fact that Leucius knew St John's Gospel. And if this be conceded, what are we to say of the grand difficulty—the question how Leucius could put into St John's mouth teaching so opposed to that of his Gospel and Epistle? To my mind the answer is a simple one. Leucius knew the Johannine writings, and also held views which are, doubtless, diametrically opposed to them: and, further, Leucius knew them as writings of accepted authority. He could not afford to ignore them: and that is exactly why he wrote as he did. His notion is that St John wrote for the multitude certain comparatively plain and easy episodes in the life of the Lord: but that to the inner circle of the faithful his teaching was widely different. In the Gospel and Epistle we have his exoteric teaching: in the Acts his esoteric. In fact, the relation which Herr Corssen supposes to have existed between Acts and Gospel must be exactly reversed. Take the instance he cites from the First Epistle. There St John says that "his hands handled" the Word of Life. So says Leucius, and he goes on to tell us exactly what St John felt when he handled the Lord's body. And Clement of Alexandria, who knew both passages, is able to put them side by side and think no wrong. We can only meet Herr Corssen's alternative propositions with a contradiction and say: Leucius did know the Epistle of John: he did not ignore it: and it was all important to him to identify the writer of the Epistle with the hero of the Acts of John. Otherwise he could be at once confronted with the words of the Epistle. As it is, he can produce the explanation of those words, spoken by the man who wrote them.

Now as to the story of the Passion. Here we have the same phenomenon. Leucius is writing a commentary upon St John's narrative, with the view of explaining it all away. On the material phenomena he naturally lays no stress, and yet some of those which he does mention (the sixth hour, and the piercing of the side) are peculiar to this Gospel. It is not the case, we now see, that he represented St John as not present at the Cross: for he went down, we read, and derided those who looked upon Christ's sufferings as real. The crucifying, the piercing, the blood,

the death, were all visible phenomena: only they did not really happen to the Lord. Thus it was right for St John to record them: but only for the sake of the outer circle. They had their importance as evidence that Christ came into the world: but (and this is the keynote of the whole passage) they were all contrived "symbolically and by a dispensation for the converting and saving of men" (p. xvi)[1].

It must be clearly kept in mind by the reader that in my list of parallels between the Acts and the Gospel I have only drawn upon a few pages of the former document. There are other parallels, collected by Zahn, both in this part of the Acts and in others: and there is, moreover, a very considerable portion of the text now being prepared for publication by M. Bonnet, which has not yet been examined from this point of view. The use of the Gospel (and Epistle) can, it seems to me, be put beyond question by our fragment: but strictly speaking, it is not quite right to come to a final conclusion until we have the whole evidence.

Herr Corssen seems to regard it as possible, if not probable, that the author of the Fourth Gospel had the Acts before him. If he will read the new fragment through, side by side with any considerable portion of the Gospel, I think his critical instinct must tell him that the Acts cannot be the earlier document of the two. No better or more convincing test of his theory can be offered: but I venture to think that the opening words of St John's speech (§ I. of the fragment) contain a hint of Leucius' method of procedure in relation to the Johannine writings, as well as an intimation that he knows of their existence. The Apostle is made to say, "I am not capable of writing the things which I saw and heard" (with respect to Jesus). These words ought to

[1] As to the words ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, which are supposed to contradict St John's narrative and to imply that the Crucifixion took place within Jerusalem I think they can hardly avail against the positive evidence already adduced. But if Herr Corssen insists, I will ask him to consider whether Leucius might not have misunderstood St John's curious order of words in xix. 20 ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς. It would, I believe, be perfectly possible to render this, "for the place of the city where Jesus was crucified was near!" Or, again, ὅπου might have been construed with πόλεως, and the sentence taken to mean, "the place was near the *city where* Jesus was crucified."

be taken in connexion with certain others of the same author Leucius, which he puts into Peter's mouth in the Acts of Peter (p. 67) *ἃ ἐχωρήσαμεν ἐγράψαμεν*: *quod cepimus scripsimus.* The phrase is at the beginning of a speech of Peter's which follows upon the reading of the account of the Transfiguration from "the Gospel." Probably (as an early annotator of the Vercelli MS. of the Acts has suggested) St Mark's Gospel may be meant[1]: but whether that is the case or not matters little, for Peter is speaking in the name of the Apostles generally. What is important is that he is referring distinctly to a written Gospel. It is impossible not to think that in John's words a similar reference is contained. In this case, however, the use of the first person singular seems to me to indicate that the speaker has actually written something. And the phrase contains a further implication: namely, that the written work was in a certain way incomplete. "In my published writings," says St John, "you will not find the mysteries which I am now going to lay before you: they were too deep for me to record in writing." And in the Petrine Acts the situation is the same. St Peter enters a room where the Gospel is being read. He closes the roll and tells his hearers that it is time they should learn how the holy scripture of our Lord ought to be expounded (debeat pronuntiari). "We Apostles," he says, "wrote what we were able to receive. It may seem weak to you, but it is all that human nature can bear." And he proceeds to set before them the Docetic view of the Lord's Person.

So then, I interpret the opening of St John's speech as conveying an intimation that Leucius knew of writings concerning Christ by St John: and as giving notice that his readers must not expect to find in those writings the teaching he is about to communicate to them.

I have made use of the Acts of Peter in this discussion: and I have now something more to say about them. The parallels of language between the Acts of Peter and Acts of John which I have collected in my Introduction must, I think, be allowed to

[1] Certainly the Gospel of Peter cannot be meant. The account of the Transfiguration which had been read, and which Peter 'expounds' required a Docetic commentary. That could not be the case with the Petrine Gospel.

demonstrate that one and the same hand wrote both books. This being so, it will be asked: Is there any indication in the Acts of Peter of a knowledge of the Johannine writings? Zahn (*Gesch. d. Kanons* II. 850) has already said something on this point: and Lipsius allows one phrase at least (p. 67) to be a quotation from John xvii. 21. Still I have thought it worth while under the present circumstances to collect all the allusions I could find in these Acts to the Gospel and First Epistle of John. As this Essay has now run to a considerable length, and as the list of passages speaks for itself, I append them without comment.

	Actus Petri	*John*
46	abrelinquere uos tamquam paruulos sine matre	xiv. 18 *οὐκ ἀφήσω ὑμᾶς ὀρφανούς*
	fidelis est qui possit peccata tua delere	1 John i. 9 *πιστός ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιος ἵνα ἀφῇ ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας*
	quae tunc incredibiles erant, modo autem fideles	Jo. xx. 27 *μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πιστός*
47	nemo uos euellere poterit de repromissionem ipsius	x. 28 *καὶ οὐχ ἁρπάσει τις αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς χειρός μου*
48	sine deo nihil facere	xv.
	numquid ipse est Christus?	iv. 29 *μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός;*
51	iuuenis decore splendidus, dicens eis: Pax uobis	xx. 19, 21, 26 *Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν* (in Lc. xxiv. 36 a Western non-interpolation)
53	deus omnipotens misit filium suum in saeculo	iii. 17 *ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὸν κόσμον*
54	filius perditionis	xvii. 12 *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας*
	patrem...quem nemo uidit umquam, neque uidere potest nisi ille qui in eum crediderit	i. 18 *θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε* cf. xiv. 9 *ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα*
56	lupe rapax uolens abripere pecora quae tua non sunt sed sunt Christi Iesu qui custodit ea diligenter summa cum diligentia	x. 11, 12 etc.
58	domine pastor ouium dissipatarum olim, nunc autem per te coadunabuntur	x. 16; xi.
	Also the phrases de ouiculis tuis, etc., ouium tuarum	xxi. 16, 18 *τὰ προβάτιά μου*
66	lumen...quod non operiunt tenebrae	1 Jo. i. 5 *καὶ σκοτία οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμία*

	Actus Petri	*John*
67	quod coepimus scripsimus	Jo. xxi. 25
	ipse est in patre et pater in eo	xvii. 21
68	ianuam lumen uiam panem aquam uitam resurrectionem ... gratiam fidem uerbum	Jo. *passim*
74	Petrus autem eleuatis oculis ad caelum ...dixit : Pater sancte filii tui Iesu Christi	xvii. 1 *ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν*
		11 *Πάτερ ἅγιε*
77	patris suĩ diabuli (62 opera patris sui)	viii. 41 *ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν*
		44 *ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ*
	filius enim tuus resurrectionis est	xi. 23 *ἀναστήσεται ὁ ἀδελφός σου*
80	*αὕτη τίς μὲν ἔστιν τὸν ἄλλον βιόν, οὐκ οἶδα*	ix. 25 *εἰ ἁμαρτωλός ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδα*
81, 82	*ἀνέρχομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*	xx. 17 *οὔπω γὰρ ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα...ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου κ.τ.λ.*
98	*τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ Πέτρος τῷ κυρίῳ παρέδωκεν*	xix. 30 *παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα*
100	*μνᾶς...σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης...πεντήκοντα*	39 *ἕλιγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν.*

The passage quoted by Herr Corssen from the tract *de montibus Sina et Sion* (8) runs as follows : in ipsa passione...alii uero Iudaei inridentes de harundine caput eius quassabant blasphemantes et dicentes : Aue rex Iudaeorum, ubi est pater tuus? ueniat et eliberet te de cruce. This looks very much like an inaccurate reminiscence of Mt. xxvii. 30, Mc. xv. 19. It may be directly borrowed from a document like the Gospel of Peter ; but ultimately it is based on canonical Gospels.

The author of the tract does make use elsewhere of apocryphal writings. In c. 4 he says he finds in Scripture the account of the four stars whence Adam's name was derived (see Mr Charles's note on the Slavonic Enoch xxx. 13) : in cc. 8, 10 are certain details about the Passion which recall the Gospel of Peter ; and finally in c. 13 we read : nam et nos qui illi credimus Christum in nobis tamquam in speculo uidemus, ipso nos instruente et monente in epistula Iohannis discipuli sui ad populum (a xth cent. MS. reads 'ad paulum') : *ita me in uobis uidete quomodo quis uestrum se uidet in aquam aut in speculum.*

It is within the bounds of possibility that we have here a very much perverted form of a phrase in the Epistle of James (i. 23 *οὗτος ἔοικεν ἀνδρὶ κατανοοῦντι τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ*) assigned to the wrong writer. But this is not really probable. It is more likely that an apocryphal

book is being quoted: and we could easily imagine such a sentence as occurring in the Leucian Acts of John, whether in a discourse, or in a letter, inserted in the Acts, just as the Third Epistle to the Corinthians is believed to have formed part of the ancient Acts of Paul.

ON SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS.

It seems not out of place in a volume such as the present to include a short notice of some recently published apocryphal tracts, which have not as yet attracted much attention.

A. The principal collection which I have in my mind is the first volume (the second does not seem to have appeared yet) of the late Athanasius Vassiliev's *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow, 1893). This book contains three texts which I have myself printed from other (and I think better) manuscripts. It includes, however, several writings of very high interest which were before quite unknown, as well as one or two which are not new to students.

The Prolegomena contain much excellent matter.

The contents are as follows:

1. Narratio de praeciso Iohannis Baptistae capite.

This is the Life of St John Baptist by his disciple Eurippus which I had at one time thought of printing from a late Bodleian MS. (*Apocr. Anecd.* 1st series, p. ix). The text here given is from a Monte Cassino MS. of cent. xi.

It seems to have been unknown to A. Berendts, author of an interesting book recently published (*Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden*): and this is unfortunate, as it corresponds in certain points with the Slavonic story of Zacharias which he has translated (pp. 71 sqq.).

2. Diaboli Iesu Christo contradictio.

In two forms: (*a*) from a Venice MS. of cent. xii, (*b*) imperfect at the beginning from a Vienna MS. of cent. xiii. These are not the only extant copies. Dr Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 28) mentions one at Jerusalem.

The texts are both in a bad state and contain neo-Greek forms. The editor has rightly remarked that the tract contains a good deal that is drawn from the late apocryphal Apocalypse of John.

3. Quaestiones S. Bartholomaei Apostoli.

From a Vienna MS. (Hist. 67. Lamb. xxxiii) of cent. xiii. It is imperfect at the beginning, but the deficiency is supplied in Vassiliev's Preface by a Latin translation from the Slavonic version.

This is an interesting and important book. The scene is laid in the days after the Resurrection. Bartholomew begins by asking our Lord whither He had gone from the Cross: for he had seen at the moment of the darkness that He was no longer on the Cross, and had heard cries and weeping and gnashing of teeth from below. In answer Christ tells of His descent into Hell, by stages, which resemble those of the descent into the world as narrated in the *Ascensio Iesaiae*.

Then the dividing of the veil of the temple by an angel is described. (At this point the Greek text begins.) Thereafter Christ departs to receive a sacrifice in Paradise.

The Apostles proceed to question the Virgin concerning the Incarnation. Her narrative of the Annunciation (given with great reluctance, and accompanied by terrible phenomena) is followed by the return of our Lord. Then the Apostles ask to see Beliar: and he is brought, in a frightful form, bound with 663 fiery chains. Bartholomew questions him and he answers at length, concerning his creation and his fall, and concerning the angelic hierarchy. The book ends with a prayer of Bartholomew, and some questions about the gravity of various sins, which have somewhat the appearance of a later addition.

There is a great deal that is heretical in the book, and, though the language is late, the matter is undoubtedly ancient. It is difficult not to think that it must be connected with the old Apocalypse of Bartholomew of which we have fragments: but these fragments do not occur in the Greek text here published.

4. Christi epistola de die dominica.

In two texts: another from a modern chap-book is given in the Preface.

5. Visiones Danielis.

a. A sermon of Ps.-Chrysostom.

b. Vision of Daniel on the last times.

c. Last Vision of Daniel.

6. *a.* Anonymi vaticinatio de rebus Byzantinis.

b. Vaticinium de futuris rebus Byzantinis (ex vita S. Andreae Salo).

These documents have been dealt with by Bousset (*Der Antichrist*); and Klostermann (in *Analecta zur LXX*) has printed another text of the Apocalypse of Daniel.

7. Quomodo Iesus Christus sacerdos factus sit.

In three texts. It is the tract which occurs in Suidas s.v. Ἰησοῦς and which Robert Grosseteste translates (from Suidas) into Latin.

8. Narratio de rebus in Persia gestis.

In two texts. It is a late but interesting book. Another text was printed by Alb. Wirth in 1894 (*Aus Orientalischen Chroniken*, pp. 145—193). Harnack has discussed parts of it in his tract on the Abercius inscription (*Texte u. Unters.* XII. 4 *b*, pp. 17 ff.).

9. Apocalypsis Deiparae.

See p. 141 of this volume.

10. Vita S. Macarii Romani.

In two texts. It is otherwise known as the *Itinerarium Theophili* as being the narrative of Theophilus, Sergius, and Hyginus, concerning their travels in the East, and their visit to Macarius. It has long been known in Latin, as occurring in Rosweyd's *Vitae Patrum*, p. 224.

11. Vita S. Zosimae.

In two texts: see p. 140.

12. Panagiotae cum azymita disputatio.

Imperfect at the end: from a Vienna MS. of cent. xv, xvi. See pp. lxiv sqq.

13. Palaea historica.

A history of the Old Testament from Adam to Daniel. The Slavonic Version of this is one of the most important monuments of Slavonic literature. In Vassiliev's Preface much is said of it: and particulars are given of one apocryphal writing which is embodied in it, called the *Ladder of Jacob*.

The Greek text here printed is of late date but has many interesting features. Among them I would mention the story of Lamech, told at some length: the story of Abraham's conversion and breaking of Terah's idols: the story of Melchizedek (agreeing with that attributed to Athanasius): the penitence of Lot. The incident of Uzzah (here called Ζάν) is transferred to the time of the Exodus: and Uzzah is not struck dead, but his hand is withered.

In the section on the Death of Moses it is evident that the substance at least of the *Assumptio Moyseos* has been drawn upon. It is worth quoting:

Περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς Μωϋσέως. καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τοῦ Ναυί· Ἀνέλθωμεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει. καὶ ἀνελθόντων αὐτῶν εἶδεν Μωϋσῆς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Κάτελθε πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀνάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μωϋσῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. καὶ κατῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου ἐκτήσατο. καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο Σαμουὴλ (*l.* Σαμαὴλ) ὡς ἂν καταβάσῃ τὸ σκύνωμα

(=σκήνωμα) αὐτοῦ τῷ λαῷ ἵνα θεοποιηθῶσιν (*l.* -σωσιν) αὐτόν. Μιχαὴλ δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος προστάξει θεοῦ ἦλθεν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ συνστεῖλαι· καὶ ἀνθίστατο αὐτῷ Σαμουήλ, καὶ διεμάχοντο. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐπετίμησεν αὐτὸν εἰπών· Ἐπιτιμᾷ σε ὁ Κύριος, διάβολε. καὶ οὕτως ἠττήθη ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ φυγὴν (*l.* -ῆ) ἐχρήσατο· ὁ δὲ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ συνέστειλεν τὸ σκύνωμα Μωϋσῆ ὅπου προσετάχθη παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἡμῶν.

The lives of the Judges are full of extraordinary blunders (e.g. the achievements of Judith are given to Deborah). The kings after David are almost wholly omitted. Then follow the stories of Βίτ (i.e. Tobit) and Daniel.

The whole book is a kind of Greek *Historia Scholastica*, but is much more full of legendary matter than that compilation. Almost every section has a quotation from the hymns of Andrew of Crete.

14. Mors Abrahami.

This is the Testament of Abraham, printed from a Vienna MS., which I have used in my edition, where it is quoted as E of the Longer Recension.

15. Narratio de Hierusalem capta.

This is the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, printed from an imperfect Barberini MS. of little value.

16. Quaestiones Iacobi fratris Domini ad Iohannem Theologum.

From a Venice MS. of cent. xiv, xv. It is a very late production, for it makes St James mention Andrew of Crete: but it also contains some not uninteresting matter about departed souls.

17. Orationes falsae.

Seven prayers of a magical character, including St Paul's address to the viper that bit him.

18. Exorcismi.

A collection of thirty-three exorcisms and magical receipts.

B. Another ancient book which has only recently become accessible is the Story of Achikar, the Achiacharus who is mentioned several times in the Book of Tobit. This romance, which is clearly older than Tobit, exists in several versions. The two most convenient forms in which it can be read are (1) in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. I., where there is a translation of the Slavonic version, and (2) in Lidzbarski's *Geschichten und Lieder aus den neuaramäischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Weimar, 1896). In this latter volume is a translation and bibliography of

the book. The story well deserves to be read, even apart from its connexion with Tobit[1].

C. Another important collection of Apocrypha is found in a volume published by the Mechitarists at Venice, which includes all the Armenian apocryphal books of the Old Testament which the editor has been able to get together. Of this volume I shall give a somewhat detailed account for the sake of scholars who do not read Armenian. I owe it to Professor Robinson's help that I am in a position to give such an account.

The book is the first volume of a series of Armenian Apocrypha, and its special title is *Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament*[2]. It is dedicated to the memory of Mgrditch Emin of Moscow, of whom we learn in the Preface that he bequeathed a sum of money to the Mechitarists for the publication of Armenian literature of this description. The Preface, which is signed by Father Sarkis Josepheantz, contains some notice of the MSS. from which the various pieces are printed. Dr Robinson tells me that Father Basil Sargisean, who has already made his mark as a student of ecclesiastical literature, is at present engaged on an Introduction which will deal with the documents now published. We are both of us indebted to Father Basil for his courtesy in

[1] Two points in it I will note parenthetically here. First, is not the enigmatical passage Tob. iv. 17 explained by Achikar? Compare ἔκχεον τοὺς ἄρτους σου ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν δικαίων, καὶ μὴ δῷς τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς with "Mein Sohn! giess *lieber* deinen Wein auf die Gräber der Frommen, *als dass* du ihn trinkest mit schlechten, gemeinen Menschen." The force of καὶ μὴ is the same as in Prov. viii. 10 λάβετε παιδείαν καὶ μὴ ἀργύριον, the parallel clause being καὶ γνῶσιν ὑπὲρ χρυσίον δεδοκιμασμένον. So that Tobit iv. 17 must be taken to mean "Pour out thy bread upon the graves of the righteous, rather than give it to sinners." Secondly, our Lord's parable of the wicked servant who begins to be drunken and to beat the servants, and is finally "cut in sunder" by his master on his sudden return (Mt. xxiv. 48), finds a striking parallel in the career of Nadan the nephew of Achikar. This young man, we read, when he had treacherously got rid of his uncle, gathered his disreputable friends together and "began to eat and to drink," and took the men-servants and maid-servants, and stripped and scourged and tormented them: and finally, when Achikar had unexpectedly emerged again, swelled up on a sudden and burst. As the story was clearly popular, and is also clearly pre-Christian, it would be no very strange thing if the Parable had borrowed a trait or two from it.

[2] The general title is: Թանգարան Հին և Նոր Նախնեաց, i.e. 'Treasury of Old and New Primitive Writers.'

placing the sheets of this volume in our hands before its actual publication.

The texts included in this book are the following:

I. Book of Adam p. 1

Inc. Adam took his wife Eve, and went to a place which was in the region of the East, over against the Garden of Delight: and he dwelt there 18 years and two months. And after that Adam drew near to Eve his wife and she conceived and bare two sons.

Then follows the vision predicting the murder of Abel.

The following titles are cited in the *Apparatus Criticus*:

a. This is the narrative of the deeds of Adam and Eve after their coming out from the Garden of Delight, into what was named the Land of Sorrow.

b. Narrative of the deeds of Adam and Eve the first-created: which was manifested by command of God through Michael the archangel to the great Prophet Moses, who received the tables written by God: which the spiritual lord Simeon newly translated in Jerusalem.

Expl. And when Michael the archangel had said this to Seth.....and they were singing songs, saying: Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts.

This is a translation from the Greek book printed by Tischendorf in *Apocalypses Apocryphae* under the misleading title of *Apocalypsis Mosis.* See for further information about the various versions of it in Latin etc. S. C. Malan's *Book of Adam and Eve.*

II. Death of Adam p. 24

Inc. The book of the created things Moses composed; he commemorated nothing concerning the death of Adam, save only that Adam lived 900 years. In the narrative of the Paraleipomena of the Greeks it is found thus written concerning the first-created.

After the jealousies and evils, Adam went forth and dwelt over against Paradise, and weeping tasted no food five days, until the coming of the angel.

Expl. And Adam was laid in the sepulchre, until Noe received command from the angel, who instructed him to open the place and take into the ark the bones of Adam.

This is a late document, in all probability. It is undisguisedly Christian, for there are visions which must be interpreted as referring to the Trinity and the Virgin Birth.

III. Testaments of the (Twelve) Patriarchs. For *Simeon* and *Levi* two recensions are printed side by side p. 27

Mr F. C. Conybeare has of late been dealing with the Armenian version of the Testaments in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

IV. (1) Story of Asaneth (*sic*) p. 152

Inc. And it came to pass in the first year [another MS. adds: 'of the seven years of fulness, in the month'] which was the seventh [v. l. 'fifth'] day of the month, Pharaoh sent Joseph to go through all the land of Egypt.

Expl. Whosoever worketh work the seven days of the marriage of Joseph and Asaneth shall die the death. And it came to pass after this, Joseph went in unto Asaneth, and she conceived and bare Manase in the house of Joseph [another MS. adds: 'and Ephrem']. To the glory of God. Amen.

See Batiffol's edition of the Greek text (*Studia Patristica*, fasc. i.) cc. i—xxi.

(2) Hymn of Confession of Asaneth unto God.

Inc. I have sinned, Lord, I have sinned before thee, and much offended: I, Asaneth the daughter of Petaphre.

This Hymn is found in the Syriac and Latin versions of the work, but not in the Greek. After it we read:

And after this there passed seven years of fulness, and there began to come seven years of famine (Batiffol, c. xxii.).

Expl. And Pharaoh rose up from his throne and worshipped Levi. And on the third day the son of Pharaoh died [another MS. adds: 'who was smitten by a stroke from the Lord'].

See Batiffol, c. xxix.: but the Greek, Syriac and Latin have a few sentences more.

V. Story of Moses p. 199

Inc. The first prophet and inspired speaker Moses, who was first of all the prophets, and by God was named a god unto Pharaoh.

Expl. He rose and came to Tabor, (as) a witness of the Godhead of Jesus Christ the son of Mary.

There is nothing of the *Assumption of Moses* here, unless it be the bare statement that Michael the archangel buried Moses.

VI. Deaths of the Prophets p. 207

Inc. Death of Esaias the Prophet.
He was son of Amos of Tekoah of the tribe of Judah.

In sixteen sections: probably from Pseudo-Epiphanius *De Vitis Prophetarum.*

VII. (*a*) Concerning Solomon the king p. 228

Inc. Inasmuch as Moses wrote: Thou shalt not marry his son to thy daughter.

Expl. And manifestly committed fornication over against (*or* in the face of) the temple of holiness and his enemies.

(*b*) Questions of the queen and answers of Solomon the son of David p. 229

Inc. The queen said: What is thy God, and to whom is He like, and whereby is He figured?

Solomon: My God is IS, and is everything, and is from Himself.

Expl. Solomon: But receive thou also from us a parable. He saith: A strong tower and an instrument of wounding: a temple of a triangle, its stones joy and its foundation love.....and the windows thereof solitary and apart and the works thereof are contrary to the building, and the sentinels thereof are not seen.

This may be a relic of the literature (which existed as early as the time of Josephus) in which contests of wisdom between Solomon and others were recorded. The *Contradictio Salomonis* of the Gelasian decree was such a book, and the mediaeval dialogues of Solomon and Saturn, and Solomon and Marcolph, as well as the Slavonic "Solomon and Kitovras," are survivals of it.

(*c*) Concerning the books of Solomon p. 232

Inc. When God raised up (as) adversary (*lit.* Satan) to Solomon Adrazar king of Edom.

Expl. And he fell to tears, mourning (*or* repenting) he wept bitterly: and God reckoned (it) unto him for repentance.

One of the numerous legends of the Penitence of Solomon.

(*d*) About the books of Solomon p. 233

Inc. The Blessed Ephrem saith thus: Solomon the wise after his sins.

Expl. For David wept all the night, and Solomon flooded his chamber.

Similar to the last.

VIII. Prayer of Manasseh the king p. 235

Inc. Lord Almighty, God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, (and) the posterity of them the just: which didst make heaven and earth.

Expl. Thee, O Lord, all angels of heaven bless, and Thine is the glory for ever. Amen.

As in the Greek.

IX. Vision of Daniel. The seventh p. 237

Inc. (Imperfect at the beginning.) After all the revelation which was given to Daniel, there was sent from the Lord Gabriel the angel, which was sent to him at first, and said to him: Daniel, man desired, I have been sent from the Lord to thee to say to thee words, and to teach thee concerning the end of the days.

Expl. For Thou, Lord, knowest and understandest that we are not able to endure, because that we are flesh: but as a father kind and loving-to-men, Thou hast compassion upon us: For Thine is the glory now and always and for ever and ever, Amen.

As published by Kalemkiar (Vienna, 1892). Cf. *infra*, no. xvii.

X. (*a*) Third Book of Ezra p. 251

Inc. Chapter I. I Salathiel, who also am called Ezra.

Expl. And Ezra died and was taken up to the company of his fellows among the Saints and the just: I wrote all this, and I was called the scribe of the Highest, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

A Latin translation of this version is in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judaeorum.*

(*b*) Questioning of Ezra the Prophet with the angel of the Lord concerning the souls of men p. 300

Inc. Ezra the Prophet saw the angel of the Lord, and he asked him word for word..... What hath God prepared for righteous and for wicked?

Expl. p. 303 (imperfect). So also Elias in a fiery chariot was taken up to heaven: so also Daniel went into the ditch (? the den).

Probably a late tract: it does not seem to be identical with any of the Apocalypses of Ezra enumerated in my *Introduction to the Fourth Book of Ezra* (pp. lxxxvi sqq.).

Supplement pp. 305—399

XI. (*a*) Story of the Creation and Transgression of Adam p. 307

Inc. When the Lord God created heaven and earth, and made first the hosts of angels for the service of His Godhead; then the wicked Satael and Beliar.

Expl. So they were glad.

(*b*) Story of the going forth of Adam from Paradise p. 312

Inc. Now when Adam fell from the garden of delight.

Expl. When Adam heard this promise, he was exceeding glad: six thousand centuries (?) (were reckoned), as one hour it appeared. Blessed be God.

(*c*) This is the story of the sons of Adam, Abel and Cain p. 314

Inc. Now when Adam after the deception of Satan.

Expl. But the Lord had pity and sent a promise concerning Seth, and comforted Adam and his wife Eve.

(*d*) Concerning the promise of Seth which it is right that we should hearken unto . . . . . p. 319

Inc. And the Lord was merciful concerning Adam, and sent His angel to Adam, and said: Go in unto thy wife, for there shall be to thee a son instead of Abel.

Expl. And the name of that place was called Nachitchevan (= former lodging): and this is the sepulchre of Noah. So much for this.

This tract or collection of tracts covers much the same ground, to all appearance, as the opening chapters of the Arabic Revelation of Peter. We have not at present sufficient materials for assigning correctly the relations of these numerous Adam-books to each other.

XII. Story of the Penitence of Adam and Eve the first-created, how they performed it . . . . . p. 325

Inc. After the going forth of Adam from the garden, having taken Eve by the command of God [and] they dwelt over against the garden: for continually seeing the garden.

This begins like the Latin *Vita Adae.*

It ends with a notice of the Crucifixion and of the custom of commemorating departed souls on the Saturday.

(*b*) Words of Adam to Seth . . . . . p. 331

Seth brings oil from Paradise. Ends with a note of Enoch's translation.

XIII. A brief narrative of Elias the prophet p. 333

Inc. Elijah the Tishbite was of the race of the priests, for Tesbi, etc.

Expl. And Ahab went weeping to his house. (Colophon follows.)

This tract is not known to me. It contains the story that the priests of Baal, on the occasion of the sacrifice on Carmel, concealed a man inside their altar who was to light the fire: but that God revealed this to Elijah, and that the man died at his prayer. Cf. Ephrem (*in* 1 *lib. Regum*) and Chrysostom (*in Petrum et Eliam*) i. 765, ed. Fronto Ducaeus.

XIV. Preaching of Jonah the prophet which was in the city Nineve p. 343

Inc. For Nineve was a great city.

Expl. And his mother died in the way, and he buried her near Rachel's oak.

There are tracts in other languages (e.g. Carshunic) on Jonah's preaching, and Ephrem Syrus has a homily on the subject.

XV. (*a*) Concerning Jeremias the prophet, from the Book of Baruch p. 349

Inc. When the Chaldeans were ready to besiege Jerusalem the Lord spake to Jeremias and said: Jeremias, my chosen, go out from this city, thou and Baruch the reader, because I will deliver it into captivity.

Expl. And Nepthalim the king of the Assyrians took the bones of Jeremias to the city of Alexandria with honour, and buried every bone around the rampart of the city, and the doers of mischief (another MS. has 'crocodiles') were exterminated, and the seers of God entered into glory. Amen.

This begins like the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, and ends with what may be taken from the Life of Jeremiah in Pseudo-Epiphanius.

(*b*) Narrative of the Holy Jeremias the prophet and his disciples Baruch and Abimelech p. 358

Inc. When the Lord willed to deliver Jerusalem to captivity, He spake with Jeremias and said: Go out from this city, thou and Baruch thy scribe: because I will deliver into captivity the city of Jerusalem and the sons of Judah.

Expl. This sign gave (*or* gave He) to the Egyptians, the moving of their idols, and the falling and destruction by means of a child born of a Virgin, the Saviour of Israel.

This is clearly some compound of the *Rest of the Words of Baruch* with Pseudo-Epiphanius. The two are often found welded together in *Menaea*, just as the Ascension of Isaiah is joined, in the only known Greek copy, with the Pseudo-Epiphanian Life of that prophet.

(*c*) From the Remaining Books which I found in the books of the Romans p. 364

Inc. And it came to pass when the children of Israel were led captive into the hands of the king of the Chaldeans, God spake with Jeremias and said: Jeremias, my chosen, arise, go out from this city, thou and Baruch, because I will destroy the city.

Expl. And the other sayings of Jeremias, and the might of the remaining words, are they not written in the Letter of Baruch? Glory to Christ for ever. Amen.

Probably this is the full text of the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, without extraneous additions.

XVI. Vision of Enoch the Just p. 378

Inc. There appeared to me a certain man over against Mount Lebanon at the sixth hour of the day, and his countenance (*or* the vision of him) was like a flame of fire, who said to me: Give heed, O man, to that which I tell thee, which I have heard from the Lord of Hosts. And I stood all the night over against the mountain on the east side: and my face to the sea of the west over against the cherubim.

And behold, over the sea a stately (lofty) eagle.

Expl. Then all the saints with the angels shall stand before the Most High God, reigning and rejoicing, praising God for ever and ever.

This book appears to be of quite late date, and is very probably a local production and not translated from Greek at all. It contains prophecies about Palestine, Cilicia, Byzantium, etc.; and belongs to the same cycle as the Seventh Vision of Daniel.

XVII. Vision of Daniel the prophet (from another MS.) pp. 387—399

Inc. After three years, after all the revelation, etc. (as in No. IX.).

Expl. And each according to his works shall they be judged.

D. A collection which has some interest is that called *Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens traduits en français*; the editor and translator is M. René Basset. The series is being published as part of the *Bibliothèque de la Haute Science.* Seven parts have appeared, namely:

1. *Le Livre de Baruch et la Légende de Jérémie* (1893), containing *The Rest of the Words of Baruch,* the Legend of Jeremiah from the *Synaxarion* (this being a version of the Life by Pseudo-Epiphanius) and a translation of Hippolytus' account of the Book of Baruch composed by Justin the Gnostic.

2. *Mas'h'afa T'omar* (*Livre de l'Épître*). A Letter of Jesus Christ concerning Sunday. See above p. 155 for a reference to the Greek form of this document.

3. *L'Ascension d'Isaie.* From Dillmann's text. This is a convenient book to use. Unfortunately, von Gebhardt's Greek text seems to have escaped the notice of the editor. It will be found in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. für Wissensch. Theol.* for 1878.

4. *Les Légendes de S. Tertag et de S. Sousnyos.* These are not apocryphal documents. Tertag is Tiridates the Great, of Armenia. The other hero of the legend is Sarkis or Sergius. Sousnyos, whose legend has no connexion with that of Tertag, is Sisinnius. He appears as the slayer of his sister, a witch who kills his child. This story, which is clearly the prelude to a prayer against witches, has appeared (in various forms) in Slavonic and Roumanian. I have read what is probably the original in a MS. at Paris (fonds Grec 395, cent. xv, xvi, ff. 8 *b*—15).

I can only give a rough abstract of it, as I have no transcript:

History of the foul and accursed Gyllou.

In the reign of Trajan there was a certain woman called Meletine who bare twelve children, and shut herself up in a town for fear of the Gyllou: her brothers, the holy Συσύννιος, Σύνη, and Συνόδωρος, came to see her, and said: "Open to us, sister Meletine." She said, "I cannot for fear of the Gyllou." But

when she had opened and let them in, the Gyllou came with horses, and stepped in and carried off the children, and Meletine said, "I told you of this." So the saints said, "We will pursue her, and recover the children." And an angel came and said, "You must pursue her in the direction of Libanus." They rode on their horses after her, and Sisinnius smote her in the side, and they took her and began to torment her: and she said, "I cannot give up the children unless I drink of the milk of Meletine." So Synodorus returned to Meletine and told her, and took of her milk in a pail and brought it back with him; and when the Gyllou had drunk it, she vomited up the children, who by the providence of God were living; and she swore by the circle of the sun and the horn of the moon that whoever had her twelve names and the names of the three saints written up in their house, could not be approached by her. And the saints beat her and asked for her twelve names and she, *πυρὶ φλεγομένη*, told them. The first was *Γυλλοῦ*: of the others I only recorded *Βριανῆ*. They returned to Meletine, and the whole city marvelled.

5. *Les prières de la Vierge à Bartos et au Golgotha.* Magical prayers with a narrative setting. See Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, Preface.

6. *Les prières de S. Cyprien et de Théophile.* Also of a magical nature. Cyprian is of course the magician of Antioch who was martyred along with S. Justina. Theophilus is the Patriarch of Alexandria.

7. *Enseignements de Jésus-Christ à ses disciples, et Prières Magiques.* The Instructions of Christ here printed deal chiefly with magical names of God. In form they recall the *Questions of Bartholomew* (see p. 155). Seven Magical Prayers follow; one contains the story of an encounter between Solomon and the 'Hidden King' of the 'Blacksmiths,' who is seemingly the King of the Demons.

The eighth number is to contain the '*Règles attribuées à St. Pacôme.*'

E. In the fourth volume of the Oxford *Studia Biblica*, Mr F. C. Conybeare has given us translations (into Greek and Latin

respectively) of two Armenian versions of the *Acta Pilati*. The student cannot but be grateful to Mr Conybeare for the new material: but, at the same time, the inconvenience of the translations into two languages is very great, and the advantages of the plan are not obvious.

F. Mr Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* (Texts and Studies, IV. 2) are a very valuable collection. But as my readers are likely to have studied it themselves, it will be superfluous to go through the contents in any detail. Another fact which deters me from a complete survey of the book is this, that its contents consist very largely of documents concerning the birth and death of the Virgin: and the legendary literature of these two events is at present an undigested mass of material awaiting classification. Among the more novel fragments the homiletic accounts of the Ministry of our Lord are prominent. Fragment IV. (p. 176), which tells of the appearance of the Devil as a fisherman (Praed's *Red Fisherman* will perhaps occur to the minds of some readers as a parallel), rather reminds one of the "Dispute of Christ with the Devil," printed by Vassiliev (see p. 154).

The above notices include most of the really important texts which have appeared in recent years, and might conceivably have escaped the notice of students. They do not pretend to be complete: it is only hoped that they may be useful so far as they go. I might go on to make a list of *desiderata* in this department of theological literature, but it is probable that a good many of the items would only be desired by myself. I am sure, however, that at least two volumes of apocryphal books are eagerly looked for by a not inconsiderable circle of theologians: I mean the Apocalypses of Elijah and Zephaniah and the new Gnostic books in Coptic, which have been recently acquired by the authorities at Berlin.

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